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12 JUNE 1986

# West Europe Report

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12 JUNE 1986

# WEST EUROPE REPORT

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POLITICAL

BELGIUM

# PROSPECTS, STRATEGY, PRIORITIES FOR WALLOON SOCIALISTS

Brussels LE SOIR in French 29 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Claude Demelenne, author of the book "Le socialisme du possible -- Guy Spitaels: changer la gauche?" (The Socialism of the Possible -- Guy Spitaels: To Change the Left?), published by Labor: "What Future for the Socialists?"]

[Text] A curious destiny, indeed, that of Guy Spitaels' Socialist Party [PS] ... On the Belgian political scene, the period 1981/1986 has unfolded entirely under the sign of the progressive estrangement of the left from the major decision making centers. Having to start with being excluded from the national government, the socialists have recently experienced an identical fate at the level of the Region and the Community. At no time however since the beginning of the eighties, whether in power or in the opposition, has the PS ever been in the least punished by the voters. On the contrary: during the last 5 years, Guy Spitaels' party has unquestionably been strengthened.

Unlike their Flemish counterparts, in the opposition the French speaking socialists have not demagogically shifted to the left their position on the main issues of economic policy and national defense. During the Martens V administration, Guy Spitaels launched himself into an educational program concerning the crisis neglected far too long by the left, and took care to warn his troops that "tomorrow, everything will not be possible."

During the same period of time, the PS began to "open up." An electoral opening, to be sure (in the direction of the RPW [People's Walloon Rally], the Christians, the center-left federalists who came from the RW [Walloon Rally] and the FDF [Democratic Front of Brussels French Speakers]...), but also to a certain extent an ideological opening: the socialists thus rediscovered the role of the enterprise, rehabilitated profits, took a stand in favor of an active consensus among the French speakers to fight the crisis, and questioned, albeit in a yet timid way, the notion of class struggle.

Hence, under the thrust of the crisis, the socialists have changed a great deal without giving up being themselves. Today, the socialism of the possible, dear to Guy Spitaels -- a socialism with ultimately very "Fabius-like" emphases -- is virtually unanimous on the left. Having been intoxicated for a long time with high masses and euphoric speeches, the people on the left have opened their eyes to a whole series of facts and constraints which cannot be avoided. How could one not rejoice about that?

Overall then, the PS is doing well. However, the socialists are not very happy. Logic: for 4 years they have done everything to prepare their return to power. A waste of time... The "victory-defeat" of the left at the elections of 13 October has left them in a complete state of shock.

But life goes on... After a short period of drifting, the socialists have developed a new strategy of opposition to the Martens VI administration. Deprived of all partners at the political level, the PS has chosen to close its ranks and to bet on an ever closer association with the FGTB [General Federation of Labor of Belgium]. Press conferences, drawing up and distributing tracts, pamphlets, a campaign to sensitize and mobilize public opinion...: at the level of Wallonia everything, or nearly everything, will be done in common.

This flawless cohesion observed within the socialist family surely constitutes a trump card for the left. All the same, over the next few months the PS will have to play it tight. As a matter of fact, the socialists will have to guard against the possible perverse effects of their association with a union organization whose trade image -- everyone within the PS must be aware of this -- is frankly negative and outside the traditional electorate of the left. The unions have had a harder time digesting the economic changes of this latter part of the 20th century than have the socialist or social democratic parties -- the majority of which have been in a process of accelerated modernization over the last few years. Characterized by the defense of causes most often just, with the aid of methods of action and a language largely obsolete, the traditional union arguments are no longer successful. The PS cannot ignore that malaise and that relative discredit of the leftist union movement. To bet everything on the momentum of a PS-FGTB axis in Wallonia would represent at least a risky calculation on its part.

Besides, too pronounced a PS-FGTB axis would end up reinforcing the labor and militant lay profile of Guy Spitaels' party. At a moment when it has a vital need to broaden -- to diversify -- its social and philosophical base, such a reinforcement does not seem desirable at all. As a matter of fact, if it continues to be perceived as the party of the Quaregnon charter, of the working class in the strict sense of the word, or of the ultra lay struggle, the PS will fail in its attempt to extend its influence beyond its traditional electorate.

What are the priorities then for a Socialist Party which has the ambition at the same time to fill up on leftist votes and to rally to its cause "those who have been disappointed by the Martens VI administration"? There is no lack of them. As for us, we will retain six of them, the majority of which are similar to authentic challenges involving the long term future of the left.

- First of all, put an end to being out of touch by the left in terms of speeches and symbols. Socialism loses its credibility when it obstinately insists on tacking a worn-out vocabulary onto a reality which has profoundly changed. Capitalism, remodeled by more than a century of labor victories, is obviously no longer hell. In spite of its seriousness, for most of us the current crisis has not created the veritable human dramas experienced by our



grandparents during the great depression of the thirties. To live fully with the times, the left will not be able to avoid a revision of its ritual, its liturgy. The "final struggle," the theme of the break with capitalism, the slogans that concentrate on the sordid aspects of life which some socialists are still fond of, no longer have a place in the speeches of the left remaining loyal to its past, true, but searching for a younger, more current look. For the first time, during their recent congress in Toulouse, the French Socialists did not disperse with the singing of the "International." Were they wrong?

- Not leave the monopoly of modernist speech oriented toward the 21st century (new technologies, flexibility...) to the parties of the current majority by falling back on an automatic and tense defense of the slightest social gain. New values are emerging, specifically among the young: aspiration for greater individual autonomy and freedom of choice at all levels, the desire to organize one's working hours in a more flexible manner, identification with positive heroes, "winners" (heads of enterprises such as Bernard Tapie, for example...), rejection of the old ideologies, but untouched availability for a mobilization of an essentially moral nature (the "Don't touch my pal" campaign, concerts to benefit Ethiopia, the Coluche-Restos operations of the heart...). It would be suicidal for the left to ignore them.

- While fiercely continuing to defend the great values of solidarity, social justice and democracy, emphasize the renewed questioning of a certain number of political recipes long brandished by the left, but which today have been completely overtaken and rendered useless. The majority of the great utopias, the great myths which fashioned the identity of socialism until the late seventies (nationalizations, self-management, global recovery through consumption, single school system...) have aged a great deal. Now they no longer cause people to dream, no longer interest anyone. That is why the left urgently needs to renew its political culture. In order not to get lost, when it returns to "business," in soulless pragmatism and rigor, it must endeavor to recover as soon as possible the moving myths, the great designs which are really mobilizers and catalysts of energy.

- Renew a continued dialogue with the SP [Flemish Socialist Party] which, since 13 October, seems to be more inclined toward realism and caution (even though, at the community level, the persistent Flemish nationalist radicalism of someone like Mark Galle is worrisome). Evidently, the socialist family is penalizing itself heavily by multiplying domestic fights and adopting as if with pleasure political tactics which are systematically divergent on both sides of the linguistic border. In the North as well as in the South, taboos must explode. To take pleasure in the state of quasi-belligerence which has long characterized their relationship constitutes the most formidable present the PS and the SP could give the Martens VI administration.

- Reactivate a federalist demand which, as such (let us not forget that it dates from the fifties and sixties), does not encounter any echoes among the young generations. The inevitable redistribution of authority within the Belgian state requires the emergence of a federalism that is not "radical" but simply authentic and functional. The quiet and adult federalism we need must



be presented on the left for what it is: not "the" solution to all the ills Wallonia suffers from, but no more no less than an enterprise of rationalization and modernization of state management inspired by the federal regimes which exist in a goodly number of democratic countries. True, the Belgian problems -- two communities, three regions, omnipresent centrifugal forces -- are awfully complex. All the more reason for everyone, starting with the socialists, to refrain from relying even the least little bit on a reflex of rejection of the opposite community.

- Finally, deepen the policy of openness started during the period 1981-1985. Even though today the PS is alone in representing the left in parliament, it remains true nevertheless that the left is plural, that it does not constitute a monolithic bloc where everybody agrees on everything. If it intends to incarnate an attractive pole for all those on the left or center left (whether they are of a federalist, lay, Christian, social democratic orientation...), the PS must, more than in the past, recognize the right to be different for the various socialist orientations which have been led to coexist within it. The opening should produce an in depth change of the Socialist Party, see to it that its internal structures really encourage diversity and the comparison of viewpoints.

Five years at the helm of the PS without any major political mistakes have allowed Guy Spitaels to lay the foundations for a socialism free of its archaisms and its ideological heaviness. The updating of the socialist doctrine is not finished for all that. Faced with the double challenge of the crisis and of the Martens VI administration, the left has no choice: it cannot stop half-way.

For the socialists, the stakes of the upcoming period are clearly fixed: if they do not succeed, within a large modern and pluralistic party, to bring together about 45 percent of the Walloon electorate they will leave the field open to the social Christian and liberal families at least until the end of this decade.

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POLITICAL

DENMARK

COMMUNIST PARTY PRESS ORGAN CRITICIZES CHERNOBYL SECRETIVENESS

Copenhagen LAND OG FOLK in Danish 30 Apr 86 p 3

[Editorial: "The Nuclear Power Accident"]

[Text] Prime Minister Schluter used big words when he criticized the Soviet Union yesterday for not having given out sufficient information about the nuclear power accident in the Ukraine. Monday evening it was his Minister of Environment Chr. Christensen who was under fire on TV because he had not quickly enough reported what he knew.

But it is undeniable that the Soviet Union should have informed its neighbors much more rapidly and more openly than has been the case so far. That they did not is serious and subject to criticism. There is no reason why rumors and fear should flourish instead of concrete information about the extent of the accident and its possible consequences. Everyone knows that nuclear power accidents can have very serious consequences far out across the borders of the individual country.

Here at home we can naturally be satisfied that most experts are assuring the population that the risk is too small to worry about.

But more rapid concrete information would also have prevented some of the worst speculation in the press, which naturally with great pleasure has thrown itself into catastrophe journalism and has generally cast suspicion on the security procedures in Soviet nuclear power plants.

Obviously the international climate does not encourage great openness. Nonetheless it must be emphasized that the best contribution that the Soviet Union can now make is openly to lay out the extent and the causes of the accident. The first step has been taken in connection with applications to West Germany and Sweden for assistance. And Denmark's best contribution to the avoidance of such situations will be actively to work for the creation of international agreements about control and warning in case of nuclear accidents.

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POLITICAL

DENMARK

# LESS DOGMATIC PEACE MOVEMENT WINNING SIGNIFICANT SUCCESS

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 27-28 Apr 86 p 1

[Editorial by JD: "Denmark for NATO"; words within slantlines published in italics]

[Text] The peace movement has not only challenged the official security policy. Since 1979 the movement's deliberations have also caused a showdown with dogmas of the leftwing. The showdown has meant that the movement has been successful in influencing the official policy. This past week has shown a number of examples of this.

The social democratic policies for defense have been unthinkable, the movement being dependent for years on pacifistic wishful thinking and violent agitation against NATO and all Western uniforms. The need for defense is being taken seriously, and that has made a dialogue possible between officers and Social Democrats. Traditional frontlines in the debate have been broken down, and this has inspired new thoughts in a party which actually has the main responsibility for the problems in defense which the new policies will solve. Younger military people especially can contribute with expertise which is relatively unprejudiced, and they will be very welcome in a debate which is bound up with prejudice.

The chairman of the Socialist People's Party (SF), Gert Petersen, gets a large part of the credit. He brought about the showdown with the leftwing when on 29 August 1978 he was quoted as saying: "The slogan 'Out of NATO' paralyzes action. It is not a viable working slogan. We should engage in the real problem solving and press for achieving concrete results." Work with /real/ problems has since then made SF into a party which seriously works with security policy, and therefore /real/ problems are at the center of their national congress this weekend.

Thursday's debate in the Folketing produced one concrete result which in 1978 could not be imagined. The majority asked the government to work for a halt to nuclear weapons tests. Successive Danish governments did this rhetorically and through nonbinding resolutions in the UN. What is new is that a very concrete input is now desired.

If the government will work for the calling of a conference "according to the rules of the 1963 treaty on expansion of the limited test ban to a total ban," there is in these regulations a fixed procedure which makes concrete steps necessary.

The resolution is the most extensive that the alternative security policy majority has approved, because footnotes cannot fulfill the responsibility which the government has to the parliament. Uffe Ellemann-Jensen has said in his well-known arrogant style that the government will ignore the request. Even though the government parties have not voted against it. The Folketing now has a part of the responsibility for seeing that respect for parliamentary procedures is not further broken down by this gentleman.

But the peace movement has with this resolution acquired a working tool which, in popular appeal, far exceeds the missile issue. Nuclear test ban is a simple demand; it is objectively well-founded; it is of enormous importance; Denmark can play a decisive role. And if the request is to be more than a curious input in the security policy debate it is necessary that the peace movement press on until the foreign minister takes concrete initiatives--or the Folketing removes him from the post where he has for so long neglected Danish security policy.

Even if the peace movement in such a campaign claims that it is only working for Denmark's official policy and maintaining respect for democracy, its input will be suspected.

It is here that a continued clash with the old dogmas of the leftwing are necessary, because that will strengthen the credibility of the movement. When the movement uses former American officials effectively in its agitation, it is because nobody with his reason intact can doubt their loyalty to NATO and fundamental Western security interests. If the movement wants to see concrete results it is necessary that it is above any suspicion.

The security policy custodians on the right- and leftwings of the Danish security policy debate resemble and help each other. During Thursday's debate it was again conspicuous that the government parties and the Progressive Party (the Christian People's Party distanced itself a little from the flock) conducted an argument in which loyalty toward the Reagan administration and allegiance of the opposition to the Soviets' bidding were the important elements. There is nothing new here. But the representatives of the alternative majority had a basic knowledge of the concrete issue, and they held to it. That is no small result when one remembers that Jens Toft (SF) and Keld Albrechtsen (VS) [Left Socialist Party] were the authors of the debate. Their contributions illustrated how far the leftwing has come from the previous general rhetoric.

Outside of Christiansborg the dogmas steadily grow in the two parties. As Ivar Hansen (V) [Liberal Party] and Ole Maisted (FD) reluctantly move away from blind belief in Reagan and NATO, SF's custodians will reluctantly move away from their classical antimilitarism and the "Out of NATO" slogan. Perhaps it is their last convulsion we are seeing when SF's cultural alderman in Arhus, Thorkild Ibsen, in an interview in this paper on Thursday dismissed

concrete questions with professions of faith. SF's national congress will clarify that.

But the custodians have an alliance. As long as the rightwing can refer to SF as a Trojan horse in defense and security policy, progress will be slow and constantly threatened by setbacks.

Some members of SF have said that they favor NATO. Regardless of the wisdom of that viewpoint--factual or internal party tactics--they have contributed to the breakup of the fronts, giving the new peace movement continuity and strengthening its credibility. Also because of their input SF is a living party in which important arguments are tested in a process which does not drop the concrete and which includes the future.

Flexibility and openness have characterized the peace movement when it is at its best. If the Socialist People's Party is to have maximum influence on developments in social democracy, this weekend's congress must not bind the party's leadership to standpoints which make it difficult to strengthen the input of the alternative security policy majority.

9287

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POLITICAL

DENMARK

# CHRISTIAN PARTY CONGRESS INDICATES TROUBLES AHEAD FOR SCHLUTER

## Opposed Government Economic Package

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 26-27 Apr 86 p 5

[Article by RB: "Christian People's Party: The Easter Package to Be Weakened"]

[Text] The Christian People's Party [KRF] will demand social compensations in connection with the Easter package when it is justified in the middle of next month.

At the party congress in Kolding a number of delegates on Friday criticized the party's Folketing group for not living up to the desired image as "the social guarantor" in the government.

The chairman of the Folketing group, Jens Steffensen, admitted that the Easter package should be filled with social compensations.

"We can only thank ourselves for that not having happened. That is not the fault of the other parties," he said.

The party's leadership believes that Arne Bjerregaard, who is a member of the Folketing group, is to blame for the desired compensations not being attained.

A letter to the party's delegates said that when Arne Bjerregaard spoke negatively about the Easter intervention he ruined the party's chances of getting social compensations. Arne Bjerregaard has always been strongly critical of both the Christmas and Easter interventions (he voted against the energy fees in the latter), but he does not want to discuss accusations.

Arne Bjerregaard was absent on Friday when the party was to vote on the report by national chairman Flemming Kofod-Svendsen.

Bjerregaard was dissatisfied with a section of the report in which Kofod-Svendsen rejected the possibility of broad cooperation in the Folketing.

"The lines are drawn. If Gert Petersen (Socialist People's Party) is not wanted in a position of power, we should obviously work to have the four-party government continue after the coming election," said Kofod-Svendsen.

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"It is unwise to talk that way because one thereby locks himself into position. In addition it is in direct conflict with our platform, which speaks of broad cooperation across the middle," said Arne Bjerregaard to RITZAU.

In the vote on the report, 10 abstained while one voted against by mistake.

#### Party Split Worsening

Copenhagen AKTUELТ in Danish 27 Apr 86 p 13

[Article by Jens J. Krogh: "MP Arne Bjerregaard (KRF): 'We Are Dying As a Party'"]

[Text] Kolding--"We are well on the way to making ourselves superfluous. If the signals are not changed very soon, the Christian People's Party will die a slow but certain death."

With this bombast MP Arne Bjerregaard turned sharply against his own party chairman Flemming Kofod-Svendsen. Arne Bjerregaard admitted outright to AKTUELТ that after the two-day KRF party congress the party was split from top to bottom.

The last day of the congress did not cover up the party's internal conflicts, which are now taking place on an open stage.

#### Lines Are Drawn

National chairman Flemming Kofod-Svendsen maintained in his farewell speech that "the lines are drawn." That clearly says no to cooperation across the middle in Danish politics.

"When the chairman can get his report approved with the statement that 'the lines are drawn' that means a sharp turn to the right in KRF," said Arne Bjerregaard to AKTUELТ. Bjerregaard received substantial backing in the congress for his criticism of the rest of the Folketing group, and especially the group's attitude toward the Easter package. He does not believe, however, that he can use that backing for very much.

"From being a middle party which was against the old bloc structure in Danish politics, we are now ourselves a part of that bloc structure," said Arne Bjerregaard.

#### Appendage to the Nonsocialists

"There is a dividing line straight through the KRF, and it has moved farther and farther to the right. In the long term I am afraid that it will mean our death as a party. We are being seen as an appendage to the nonsocialists instead of being a third possibility in Danish politics which can show social responsibility."

How long will the KRF remain in the Folketing?

"I am pessimistic. It is a realistic judgment that we are going full speed toward making ourselves superfluous. That could happen by the next Folketing election," said Arne Bjerregaard.

Jens Moller Top Scorer

KRF's former chairman, town councillor Jens Moller from Kolding became the top scorer when the KRF congress in Kolding yesterday elected a new Executive Committee.

Former MP Inge Krogh came in at 12th place. The other Executive Committee members are: Ole M. Nielsen from Ostervro, Ebbe Jensen from Solrod Strand, Ruth Schjodt Pedersen from Vestervig, Aage Jensen from Roskilde, Peter Ohrstrom from Vejle, Per Chrillesen from Haslev, Kai Host from Gjern, Christian Bjerre from Vildbjerg, Inge Nielsen from Bjerringbo, Verner Boutrup Andersen from Herning, Edith Holm from Frederiksberg, Ove Kollerup from Aarhus, and Kristian Follmann Sorensen from Borkop.

#### Further Social Cuts Opposed

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 26 Apr 86 p 4

[Article by Jens J. Krogh: "KRF: 'We Are Not Social Enough'"]

[Text] Kolding--The Christian People's Party has gone too far with social cuts. Especially since the Easter package has not been offset.

That was the message of a large number of opinions of members of KRF to the party's Folketing group when the party opened its national congress yesterday in Kolding.

"No, how could you have been so foolish?" was the message. Dissatisfaction was expressed by 11 delegates failing to support the report of national chairman Flemming Kofod-Svendsen.

In the Folketing, MP Arne Bjerregaard stood alone with his criticism of the lack of social balance in government cooperation. The congress did not criticize Bjerregaard for his action. On the contrary, Bjerregaard received applause when he announced his viewpoint.

Egon Jacobsen, chairman of the Krf Social Committee, admitted outright that he could no longer defend the party's social policies.

"We are hitting the weakest groups the hardest. The groups which have been the cause of increased consumption have not been hit nearly so hard," said Egon Jacobsen.

The three top leaders of the party, Chairman Flemming Kofod-Svendsen, Minister of Environment Chr. Christensen and group chairman Jens Steffensen admitted

indirectly that the party had failed, and they now promise to try to negotiate social compensation for the weakest groups as a consequence of the Easter package.

The three top leaders emphasized that KRF continues to have more influence inside the government than outside it.

#### Overtures from SDP Rejected

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 26 Apr 86 p 4

[Article by Jens J. Krogh: "KRF Says No to Cooperation Across the Middle"]

It is not practical politics to have cooperation across the middle in Danish politics," said KRF national chairman Flemming Kofod-Svendsen. "The lines are drawn. Anker Jorgensen is looking to the left, and Gert Pedersen is sending longing glances toward the Social Democrats," said Kofod-Svendsen as the basis for his rejection of cooperation across the middle.

#### Post-Congress Assessment

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE AFTEN in Danish 2-8 May 86 p 2

[Commentary by Solveig Rodsgaard: "Problems for the Christian People's Party"; first paragraph is BERLINGSKE AFTEN introduction]

[Text] The party congress showed that there are still problems in the little government party, both over government participation and over Arne Bjerregaard's solo action.

The weak link in the government is still the Christian People's Party, in which internal troubles continue. Following the party's national congress over the St. Bede's holiday Prime Minister Poul Schluter must realize that one of the party's five MP's is threatening to leave the party, that the party is making demands for social compensation for the energy fees in the Easter package, and that there will be further demands for higher wages made to the public committee on the renewal of the wage agreement.

Arne Bjerregaard's threat to leave the KRF is blamed for dissatisfaction with the policy laid out by the party chairman, MP Flemming Kofod-Svendsen. In his report to the congress the chairman said that he had previously been an advocate for broad cooperation across the middle.

"Whatever one thinks of that, it is not practical politics today. Anker Jorgensen is looking toward the left--and Gert Petersen is sending longing glances toward the Social Democrats--meanwhile both are competing with each other in directing the sharpest criticism against the government parties and the Radicals. The lines are drawn. If we do not want Gert Petersen in a position of power we must obviously work to have the four-party government continue in good cooperation with the Radical Liberal Party. Also following the next election, when KRF is assured of two minister posts," said the national chairman to the delegates.

When the time came for a vote on the report, Arne Bjerregaard left the meeting hall, and he stated that if KRF did not turn back toward the middle in Danish politics before the next congress there was no place for him in the party.

#### On the Right

Arne Bjerregaard's actions hardly came as a surprise. He has always been opposed to KRF going into the government, and after he declared at the party congress last year that he was not automatically the government's safety net, there were more and more problems between him and the other members of the Folketing group. When Arne Bjerregaard voted against the energy fee proposal in the government's Easter package that was too much. He was removed as his party's tax chairman.

Speaking about his position in the Folketing group after the congress, Arne Bjerregaard told WEEKENDAVISEN:

"I believe that I have a certain backing for my viewpoint that KRF has a duty as the social guarantor of the government. And if at the next congress they wish to stand by the line now laid out, that KRF in the future belongs on the right side of the line, then I disagree. I have not said that in that case we will leave the government, but I am against the party in the future being on the Right. That is not our policy, and I will therefore not find fertile ground for the viewpoints that I believe in and which the party is founded on. And in that case I do not belong in KRF, and there will be no other way than for me to resign."

On Monday Arne Bjerregaard will meet with his county council, but he expects to have the backing of the majority of the council.

#### Demand

Apart from the problems which Arne Bjerregaard can create for KRF as a government-supporting party, there were a number of critical statements during the congress about government participation. The Folketing group was sharply criticized for not having put through social compensation for the increased energy fees, and the congress approved a resolution directing the Folketing group to work for the compensation.

It was the intention that the Folketing group would take up the issue when the energy fees were being adjusted on 15 May, but the prime minister said after a cabinet meeting last Tuesday that it is not at all certain that the energy fees would be adjusted in May. According to the prime minister it is possible that the adjustment of prices would be taken up for the first time when the Folketing meets again in October. In return the prime minister rejected any compensation in connection with the rise in energy fees because energy fees only offset a price decline.

The demand for higher wages for public employees was expressed by the national chairman at the congress. He said that wage restraint has lasted too long for



groups of public employees, especially within the middle groups such as in the education area and health and care groups.

"It must be our task during next year's wage negotiations to ensure wage improvement for public employees while wage improvement in the private sector is primarily tied to the establishment of pension arrangements," said Flemming Kofod-Svendsen.

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POLITICAL

DENMARK

SDP YOUTH ORGANIZATION LESS OPPOSED TO NATO, ARMED DEFENSE

Copenhagen AKTUEL in Danish 24 Apr 86 p 6

[Article by Jens J. Krogh: "700 Youths to Congress--DSU Having Solid Success"; first paragraph is AKTUEL introduction]

[Text] Odense--DSU, Denmark's Social Democratic Youth, is again seeing a stable advance in its membership. DSU's outgoing chairman can look back on a chairmanship period in which DSU has had steady success. It is especially satisfying that more girls and grade school students are joining DSU, said Jan Petersen, the outgoing chairman. Tomorrow DSU's 26th congress begins in Odense. Seven hundred young Social Democrats, of which 400 are delegates, will participate.

In the two-year congress period the membership figure has grown from 15,324 to 16,110, and DSU is thereby the largest political youth organization in the country. DSU also has more members than most of the Folketing parties. For example SF [Socialist People's Party], the Radical Liberal Party and the Christian People's Party all have about 10,000 members.

"We have a stable and even growth rate," noted the outgoing chairman, Jan Petersen, with satisfaction.

"Today DSU has 191 local branches, which indicates that we have seriously gone out in the towns and villages. For many years there have been no DSU branches in those areas.

More Girls and Students

"We can also note with great satisfaction that the number of girls in DSU is growing. And we are delighted that many of our new members are grade school students. That means that we can sharpen the political interest of youth at an earlier age, and for DSU it means that it will be possible for us to keep our members for a period of years," said Jan Petersen.

During the three-day DSU congress a new policy program will be adopted. In addition they will discuss leisure time and cultural policies, peace and defense policies, conditions of refugees and possibilities for a majority labor government.

## Yes to a Defense

Since the last congresses DSU has changed course about defense policy. For the past 10 or 15 years DSU's attitude has been a definite no to military defense with a demand to leave NATO here and now.

"We recognize the necessity of a defense. In this regard DSU has changed its policy in relation to the late 60's and the early 70's. So we are pleased to see that social democracy is seriously beginning to debate defensive defense," said Jan Petersen.

"DSU is traditionally critical of a number of Social Democrat attitudes. But lately the mother party has become a little better to listen to," said Jan Petersen.

"But it could still be much better," he said, and reminded that for many years DSU has fought for an active peace policy, a stronger environmental policy and a more ideological discussion of the labor movement.

"In the past couple of years these important questions have been given priority for the first time by the Social Democrats. The effect has been that the Social Democrat Party still has a difficult time breaking through to the young voters," said Jan Petersen.

## New Leadership

At the congress DSU will elect both a new chairman and a new vice chairman. After four years as DSU chairman Jan Petersen will begin in a position in the training division of HK. Vice chairman Kirsten Jensen will complete her journalist training.

At the moment there are three candidates for the two posts. Jens Christiansen from Vesterbro, and Jan Eriksen from Alborg are running for chairman, while Annette Berentzen from Odense is so far the only candidate for the post of vice chairman.

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POLITICAL

FINLAND

## VAYRYNEN WOOING CONSERVATIVES IN QUEST FOR PRESIDENCY

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 29 Apr 86 p 15

[Article by Stefan Lundberg]

[Text] Helsinki--The starting shot for the presidential election campaign in Finland has been fired. The nomination by the Center Party's party board of its chairman, Minister of Foreign Affairs Paavo Vayrynen, as the party's presidential candidate was a move very typical of Vayrynen.

Vayrynen announced last Friday that as far as the Center Party was concerned, the campaign would not begin until the fall of 1987. He said that the current president must be given peace and quiet in which to work.

But Vayrynen was already attacking on Saturday. In a speech sharply critical of the SSDP [Finnish Social Democratic Party]--his partner in the government--Vayrynen openly wooed the Conservative Party [KK]. He drew attention to the KK's chance to end its 20 years of wandering in the wilderness of the opposition. According to many observers, the message was crystal clear: if you support me, you will be buying your admission ticket to the government.

### Trump Cards

The reason is that to Vayrynen, it has seemed important to get the post of prime minister before the presidential election. That possibility exists, but only with the Conservative Party's cooperation.

Vayrynen was originally supposed to go up against Koivisto in 1988 in a kind of "limbering-up exercise." No one seriously believed that Vayrynen could present a threat to Koivisto's reelection. But the situation is different today. Vayrynen holds some strong trump cards indicating that as far as he is concerned, this will not be simply a limbering-up exercise.

Koivisto was riding a huge wave of popularity in 1982. He is still popular, but not as popular as before. Public opinion polls show that his popularity has dropped during his 4 years as president. The latest public opinion figure shows that 56 percent of Finns would vote for Koivisto if the election were held now. Just 6 months ago, that figure was up around 70 percent.

Vayrynen and the Center Party obviously expect that very circumstance to give him a real chance. The presidential election will probably be held after the constitutional reform so that the voters will be voting both for a candidate and for electors. The electors will perform their duties after the election if no candidate receives more than 50 percent of the vote.

Many people consider it unlikely that Koivisto will manage to win an absolute majority in the first round of balloting. The electoral college will then meet to choose the president, and it is certain to have a nonsocialist majority.

#### Unpredictable

So that is where Vayrynen's chance lies if he manages to win the nonsocialists and above all the Conservatives over to his side. But there are several flaws in that argument. The Finnish Rural Party, for example, which is the Center Party's traditional archenemy, recently stood behind Koivisto. Equally unpredictable are the Greens, for whom big success in the parliamentary elections a year from now has been predicted. The Greens have not shown any particularly great liking for Vayrynen.

Vayrynen's "proposal of marriage" in Turku over the weekend may also reflect a fear that the Social Democrats will get ahead of the Center Party and buy out the Conservative Party by also promising entry into the government. That would be a catastrophe for Vayrynen, whose Center Party might then be completely eliminated from participation in the government after the parliamentary election.

For the Social Democrats, who are being criticized from within their own ranks for moving too far to the right, a marriage with the Conservative Party would be a hazardous undertaking. It might save the presidency for them but turn out to be disastrous in the long run.

The Conservative Party's chairman, Ilkka Suominen, has declared that his party will run a candidate of its own. If Suominen gets his way, that candidate will obviously be Harri Holkeri. Harri Holkeri is governor of the Bank of Finland and was formerly the party's chairman. He also was a candidate in the previous election with relatively decent success.

But of course, there is nothing to prevent the Conservative Party from changing horses in a second round of balloting. The only question is who it would support: Vayrynen or Koivisto?

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POLITICAL

FINLAND

## PEACE DEFENDERS' ROLE QUESTIONED AFTER RUOKOLA COMMENTS

Helsinki SUOMEN KUVALEHTI in Finnish 25 Apr 86 pp 62-64

[Article by Tuomo Lappalainen: "A Full Charge of Buckshot on Behalf of Peace"]

[Text] The Finnish Peace Defenders annual meeting was reported with bigger than usual headlines this year when chairman Matti Ruokola linked the German threat mentioned in the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Pact with the U.S. Star Wars plan. His behavior again roused current interest in a question that has previously been of concern to many Finns: What kind of peace is this organization suspected of being an outpost of the Kremlin's foreign policy really defending?

Since Finnish Peace Defenders Ltd is not a pacifist organization, it can without concern choose an enthusiastic user of weapons as its chairman. Four years ago Matti Ruokola received fines amounting to 5,000 markkas for duck hunting, but they have not gotten him to give up his bird-shooting hobby.

President of the republic Urho Kekkonen is quoted on the dust cover of the Finnish Peace Defenders' 30th anniversary publication, which appeared at the end of the 1970's. He said that he had come to the conclusion that participation in a peace movement is the man in the street's only way of opposing war. "In many people's opinion, it may be a hopelessly slow way of doing it, but it's hard to find a sensible alternative under the present circumstances." Harmonious coexistence of the government and the peace activists continues to exist in Koivisto's republic too -- in spite of Ruokola's speeches. The Peace Defenders declares that it openly supports Finland's foreign policy while the government, on the other hand, rewards its loyalty with a generous state subsidy of nearly a million markkas. This sum covers over half of the association's budget.

Or whose bread are you eating and whose songs are you singing?

"The present situation is an undeniably fortunate one, but supporting the official line is nonetheless not an end in itself for us. The significance of issues under consideration is decided on each time," assistant first secretary Mikko Lohikoski stated.

"For example, in connection with Finland's military preparations, we operate on the assumption that the prevailing actual level should not be raised any more. In security policy appropriations, foreign policy clearly comes before defense policy."

#### From Red Guards to Conservative Youth

Partial nationalization is not, however, the only peculiarity of the Finnish Peace Defenders.

It is to boot still thoroughly politicized as well. Probably more ministers, members of Parliament and party workers belong to the organization than to the other West European sister organizations taken all together.

Among others, Mikko Immonen (Center Party), Antti Kalliomaki (Social Democrat), Ilkka Kanerva (Conservative Party), Matti Kekkonen (Center Party), Erkki Kivimaki (Communist), Eeva Kuuskoski-Vikatmaa (Center Party), Aaro Niiranen (Finnish Rural Party), Weiho Pitkanen (Center Party) and Marjatta Stenius-Kaukkonen (Communist) belong to the 40-member central administration headed by Matti Ruokola (Center Party).

The range of different opinion factions is large, but in the opinion of many deceptive. Perhaps the most common charge leveled at the Peace Defenders views the organization as a tool of the Stalinist Communists, which the Center Party K-faction has also been able to make use of when the need has arisen to further its domestic policy aspirations to power.

"In practice the Peace Defenders is a heavily armored organization in the hands of the Communist minority faction. About at least half of those elected to its decision-making organs are members of the TIEDONANTAJA faction. All told, only a single non-Stalinist has been declared competent to serve among the dozens of salaried officials who have at different times been in the service of the organizations. This is only natural since, aside from their peace work, organization officials have participated in the maintenance of the Stalinist organizations in workplaces and in the rank and file of the youth organization," Erkki Tuomioja, the leading figure of the One Hundred Committee peace movement, analyzed the situation a couple of years ago.

The set-up is to a certain extent reminiscent of the situation in the High-School Student Union at the end of the 1960's and in the early 1970's. In it too, the Stalinists created their own organization within the cover organization and seized power by means of effective centralization.

There are always good chances of succeeding by applying bold tactics in a divided membership. And the Peace Defenders' strength does not at any rate lie in homogeneity. While the organization has only 30,000 regular individual members, Lohikoski estimates that every Finn belongs to it at least twice through memberships in other organizations. Among the 82 member organizations are the Workers Sport Association, the Finnish University Student Union, the Finnish Foodworkers Union, the Nature Association, the Rubber and Leatherworkers Union, the Construction Workers Union, the Young Conservative One Thousand Organization and the Social Democratic Youth Association.

The list is further filled out by the Former Red Guardsmen Ltd, the International Volunteer Work Camp Organization, the Antiwar and Antifascism Work Organization Ltd, the Socialist Health Front, the Finnish Academic Sobriety League and the Afghanistan, Chile, Korea, Cuba, Mongolia, Vietnam and Arab Nations Friendship Societies.

"We Could Support the United States Too"

One is, however, missing from this group. The Finnish Peace League, which opposes any sort of power politics and does not want to commit itself to siding with any ideological or power-politicking clique, untied itself from Ruokola's apron strings after a lengthy row.

Tuomioja was a key participant in this operation too. In his outspoken way, he has on several occasions let it be understood that portraying the Peace Defenders and its cover organization, the World Peace Council, as instruments of Soviet foreign policy is not a bit misleading. They who "have never been able to demonstrate that they have assumed a position that essentially differs from the line pursued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at any given time."

In his critique Mikko Lohikoski admitted that there is truth enough in the fact that in the Peace Defenders "there is undeniably more understanding for the goals of the Soviet Union than those of the United States." If, however, the United States were to propose an initiative tomorrow for radical and balanced disarmament, nothing would prevent the organization from supporting Ronald Reagan; he would be bringing the image of himself presented to the public into balance.

Besides, charging the Peace Defenders with favoring the Soviet Union is ill-considered inasmuch as in many cases the barbs also indirectly attack Finland's official foreign policy. The fact is that the organization's views on disarmament, nuclear testing, Nordic nuclear-free status and even the situation in Afghanistan just do not differ from those of Ritarikatu.

We find a typical example of this in the way the Peace Defenders reacted to the surprise attack made on Libya last week. In formulating his position on the matter Lohikoski was in agreement with both international law experts and Foreign Ministry officials.

They Do Not Vote on the Adoption of Positions

Peace Defenders official statements are regularly produced on the basis of the principle of consensus, by reconciling different opinions. Decisions based on a vote have not been reached in 20 years now; in Lohikoski's opinion, they do not even belong to the nature of a cooperative organization.

The principle is a noble one, but in practice it also has its dangers. We know from past experience that striving for unanimity easily leads to a watering down of issues and pointless circularity.

So far, the Peace Defenders has not been accused of this but, on the other hand, carried to an extreme, the right of veto has undoubtedly increased the well-known credibility gap with respect to the organization and strengthened accusations of partiality. Since the Stalinists, strongly represented in the association's decision-making bodies, see to it that there are no passages critical of the Soviet Union to be found between the lines in official statements of position.

Of course, it is true that they have also begun to view the formulation of official statements in a more critical manner than before within the organization. They now recognize that, employed too much, such statements are merely inflammatory goods that at the most serve as therapy for their authors. Protest demonstrations have no value unless one is also capable of incorporating in them one's own constructive proposals to correct matters.

So what function does the Peace Defenders serve at all any more? Couldn't the organization at the same time dissolve itself and join, say, the Finnish-Soviet Society as we every now and then hear them hint at doing?

Ruokola and his comrades respond to criticism by applying themselves more vigorously than before to peace activities. Among other things, the Peace Defenders publishes its own newspaper, organizes camps and seminars and collects funds for development aid work.

A "Ship Loading" solidarity message is at present in progress, the objects of which are the South African and Namibian Liberation Organizations and the victims of the Angolan and Nicaraguan wars. The Peace Fund is accepting axes, sheath knives and saw blades in addition to clothes, blankets and school supplies.

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POLITICAL

FINLAND

# COMMUNIST NEWSPAPERS COMMENT ON 'SHADOW CONGRESS'

Stalinist Organ: New Stage

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 29 Apr 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Membership Took Control in Finnish Communist Party"]

[Text] The well-worn phrase from the pages of history is appropriate when talking about the meeting of representatives of SKP [Finnish Communist Party] Organizations held in Tampere. Empowered by the majority of the party's organizations and members the meeting adopted decisions to ensure the work of the SKP as a Marxist-Leninist party, outlined political tasks as well as elected a new membership wide leadership for the SKP. The membership took control in its own party.

The meeting of representatives of SKP Organizations was not necessary just because of the SKP's difficult internal situation, but it was necessary merely for the reason that the SKP has not had a democratically elected leadership in 2 years and that Arvo Aalto's right-wing faction is dedicated to the disruption of the party.

The meeting was inevitable also for the reason that a Finnish Communist Party that bases its activities on Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and workers' interests must be generally preserved in our country. All the actions of Aalto's faction have been aimed at the destruction of the SKP as this kind of a party. The Tampere meeting fulfilled the class obligation and the national and international obligation of Communists by ensuring that the SKP will continue, it cannot be extinguished.

In the media it is being argued that there are now two communist parties in our country. However, there is only one communist party, the SKP, in our country. All the decisions of the Tampere meeting are committed to the SKP. Indeed, the SKP now has two leadership groups, the formal leadership of Aalto's faction, which has illegally acquired and preserved its position, and the leadership representing the SKP's majority membership or the Central Committee of SKP Organizations. Under the protection of the SKP's central apparatus, which it controls, Aalto's faction is, indeed, building a new party, but it is not communist by any characteristics relative to content, but a reformist and nationalist party.



It is also being argued that a shadow SKP was established in Tampere. The majority of the membership representing the SKP's traditions, principles, chief policy line, and organizations will not establish nor does it need to establish any kind of shadow SKP. The essence of the matter will decide, not formalities. Aalto's faction is changing the machinery it controls into an increasingly pale shadow of the SKP. But the fate of Aalto's shadow party will be its disappearance sooner or later into the night of shadows. The SKP will remain.

The greater the number of SKP members and friends who turn their back on the disrupters and liquidators, the sooner and with greater certainty they will reach an impasse, and the unification of the party's ranks can be secured. There are thousands of sincere Communists who for one reason or another are not yet actively involved in the work on behalf of the SKP, but who can be persuaded to participate. The Tampere meeting has extended to all of them the hand of a fighting comrade.

The meeting of representatives of SKP Organizations elected to the party's leadership tasks comrades who have won the trust of the membership by their deeds. Thus personnel selections as well as other decisions were made unanimously. The SKP's internal and external opponents attempted in advance to foment any kind of conflicts among pro-party forces. The meeting, however, brought only disappointment to these opponents.

In principle what was most important was the meeting's decision by which TIEDONANTAJA will become the exclusive and joint primary organ of the Central Committee of SKP Organizations, and effective work will commence for strengthening its position. The SKP has not had its own press organ for a long time. An attempt was made to establish such an organ before the 20th Congress. Upon taking over the party leadership Aalto's faction killed the project in its inception. The decision now made means that the SKP, the Central Committee representing its majority, finally has its own primary organ.

It was noted with justification at the Tampere meeting that the new phase now beginning sets the stage for the adoption of new attitudes. Now that the membership has taken control in the SKP, it must also accept responsibility for the whole party and its role in social and political life. The fate of the SKP is no longer in the hands of Aalto's faction, it is in the hands of the membership and a leadership representing the membership.

#### Stalinist Paper On Congress

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 29 Apr 86 p 5

[Article: "New Central Committee Takes Over, Communist Party Planning for New Growth"]

[Text] The invitation to attend the meeting of representatives of SKP Organizations held in Tampere over the weekend was extended to all the party's organizations.

On its basis a total of 802 representatives from 765 party organizations representing a total of 16,633 SKP members was elected to attend the meeting. The representatives were chosen from eight district organizations, the unification committees of nine districts, 32 city or area committees, 605 party sections, and 111 independent party factions.

Measured by whatever measure, the Communists assembled in Tampere represented the majority of the SKP's organizations and members.

With this mandate they also made decisions required by the SKP's and Finland's political situation.

The meeting of representatives of SKP Organizations commenced on Saturday at a few minutes after 12. In addition to conference delegates, representatives from the embassies of the USSR and other socialist countries, numerous societies, and scores of representatives from the media came to observe the proceedings of the meeting.

Ilmari Nieminen, a member of the chairmanship of the Committee of SKP Organizations, who opened the meeting, stated that the meeting was convened so that Communists could struggle together better than before with the whole working class and all workers against big capital and political reaction. He pointed out the increasing aggressiveness of the right wing, the timely strike actions and the unscrupulous methods used against them, and the escalation of tensions in the international situation.

Nieminen stated that even though the situation demanded the convening of all progressive and democratic forces, the present party leadership has instead set upon a course of liquidating the party. Thus the task of gathering forces has been placed on the shoulders of the party organizations participating in this meeting.

"We are ready for an open, constructive, honest, and also critical discussion of how we are to wage this common struggle," said Nieminen.

#### First Day

After the opening formalities, the meeting elected a chairmanship and committees.

On the first day of the meeting Jouko Kajanoja explained the political situation and Taisto Sinisalo delivered a speech on the situation and tasks in the SKP. This was followed by a general discussion, in which the speeches of representatives from eight district organizations and nine unification committees were heard. The meeting was adjourned at 7:00 p.m., after which the committees held their meetings before the much praised Celebration of Struggle was held in Sampola.

#### The Next Day

At 9:00 o'clock Sunday morning the meeting continued with the general discussion, in which the speeches of other representatives were heard. (Speeches

delivered during the general discussion as well as Kajanoja's and Sinisalo's speeches will be treated in greater detail elsewhere in this paper and in future issues of TIEDONANTAJA. The subject matter of the meeting will appear in its entirety in book form in the middle of May.)

Taisto Sinisalo presented a summary of the general discussion.

"A clear parallel direction in the assessment of the party's tasks has characterized the discussion. It has reinforced the fact that the path chosen by us has been and is correct," said Sinisalo.

"Speculations regarding the meeting include a deliberation of who among us has changed, whether someone has been subordinated, and whether some have won since our unity can be so tight and extensive.

"We have all changed. Our experience in struggle has strengthened our philosophical foundation as well as our skill in work. Experience is what has taught us to seek new comrades-in-arms, and joint action is what has built trust. We will not have a problem even in the future with respect to who will give up and who will win. Anyone who is for a Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalist party, a fighting and democratic communist party, and who works to strengthen the SKP is our comrade. The SKP, its struggling force and ability, and in the final count our country's working class will be the victor in our common efforts. We have no other aspirations or goals," stated Sinisalo.

After the general discussion the meeting convened for a closed session, in which it unanimously approved the election committee's proposal to make it the new Central Committee. The Central Committee convened immediately after this to elect its chairmen, general secretary, Politburo, and secretariat. All these elections were also conducted unanimously.

Numerous changes were made in the meeting's resolutions on a policy document and the SKP-document on the basis of a discussion by the rank and file and committee work.

The policy document was presented by Eino Kaajakari. It was adopted unanimously.

A stand on rejecting the seizure of the energy tax and reducing housing costs was accepted as a separate position.

#### SKP-Document

Committee chairman Urho Jokinen presented the SKP-document. Basing his comments on the committee debate he said that the Central Committee's job is to make certain that a sufficient number of membership cards is obtained as well as ensure the systematic and full collection of membership dues.

In his speech Jokinen emphasized the qualitative significance of making TIEDONANTAJA a nationwide newspaper. "We progressed to victories with TIEDONANTAJA,

the prerequisites for new victories exist, but not without TIEDONANTAJA," said Jokinen.

In his speech he also placed strong emphasis on the importance of the SKP's traditions, and its link with the SKP's name, the abandonment of which would also be the abandonment of those traditions. He demanded a comprehensive understanding of this question: the cherishing and protection of traditions require an understanding of the whole and a realistic observation of the facts as they are.

Jokinen also pointed out the unanimous stand that the organizations assembled in Tampere adopted with respect to operating on the basis of the regulations adopted at the SKP's 11th Congress. In this way the order of meetings prescribed by the regulations will also be observed so that the 20th Congress will be followed by the 21st Congress, stated Jokinen (the SKP-document proposes the convening of a united 21st Congress next year).

Kalervo Ilmanen from the SKP's Uusimaa District submitted a dissenting opinion in the document, in which he would have preferred not to assign a number to the next congress since giving it a designation "will cause confusion and provide an opportunity for interpretations".

In answering Ilmanen, Jokinen stated that the arguments for the dissenting opinion are completely compatible with the committee's proposal since an appeal is made in both to the regulations adopted by the 11th Congress. Jokinen believes that time will clarify this question "also for those who still find it ambiguous".

The document was approved unanimously.

#### New Leadership

Chairman Ilmari Nieminen of the Election Committee announced after this that the Central Committee had elected a new leadership. Taisto Sinisalo was elected chairman, Yrjo Hakanen 1st vice-chairman, and SKP Turku District Secretary Marita Virtanen was elected 2nd vice-chairman. The Central Committee elected Jouko Kajanoja as general secretary.

Nieminen wished the new leadership success in its demanding task to accomplish the proposals made by the meeting. "Indeed, not proposals but decisions. We have become accustomed to talking about proposals only for so long that now that they have become decisions, a completely new method of thinking is required of us all," stated Nieminen.

He also thanked the SKP's Tampere District Organizations, which brilliantly handled all the technical preparations connected with the meeting.

The meeting concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

After an exceptionally harmonious meeting, the representatives began to return to their home communities taking with them the unanimously adopted decisions,



the May Day appeal made to all friends and comrades at the meeting, and the small flags and stickers of the Election Organization for A Democratic Alternative.

Work will continue again, on a stronger basis.

#### Fraternal Thanks

to all those volunteers who with their great sacrifices and efforts created a comprehensive framework for the meeting of representatives of SKP Organizations on 26--27 April in Tampere. Our meeting was exceptionally successful and for the most part because of your work.

A sauna night will be arranged for the volunteer workers on Saturday 10 May at 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon in Nokia's Lehtiniemi.

You are all welcome.

The chairmanship of the meeting of representatives of SKP Organizations. The Tampere District Organization of the SKP.

#### 'Moderate' Paper: Remarkable Step

Helsinki KANSAN UUTISET in Finnish 29 Apr 86 p 10

[Editorial: "The Legalization of A Separate Path"]

[Text] The country's press gave the "meeting of SKP Organizations" in Tampere greater political importance than what it in fact deserves. The meeting did not actually introduce much that is new.

What in fact happened? The Taistoite faction convened, elected for itself a central committee and other leadership organs and leaders -- or made the general public aware of all that which has been known and has unofficially existed for a long time within the SKP contrary to party decisions. Now a new and indeed significant step has been taken on the path of disassociation from the SKP, a process started by this faction 2 years ago at the 20th Congress when its members refused to participate in the work of the Central Committee. In addition to the legalization of the new, it was a kind of news item that Jouko Kajanoja along with his few supporters was persuaded to suspend his own faction and join in the work of the group opposing the SKP at a very low level.

A certain kind of three-way division still remains in the group seceding from the SKP -- one can still find the old TIEDONANTAJA clique, Markus Kainulainen's supporters, and the former third-line faction, and they are united by the struggle against the SKP and the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League].

What would be that original alternative which would be created by this central committee or the Democratic Alternative party established 3 weeks ago? There is no actual alternative. The most graphic sign of this is that the new



faction does not want to appear by itself, but wants to confuse the people by using the SKP's symbols and traditions. What is the ideological platform of the new party? Now it has been announced that a party program will not be compiled. The draft compiled by the party leadership is, naturally, not suitable. What is suitable? Is it the program from 1969? Certainly not -- it was declared revisionist already in its inception. Does the faction's program date from 1957?

The fact that the factions would comprise the majority of the Communist Party or the SKDL is, of course, groundless talk. It has never been able to achieve this position since the membership prevented it. They are even less able to achieve this goal by the peculiar and completely too complicated structure they have now created.

The faction can cause considerable damage to the SKP and the SKDL, but it will not be able to destroy the party or the influential People's Democratic movement. The membership will make certain of that.

#### Congress Sidelights Reported

Helsinki KANSAN UUTISET in Finnish 29 Apr 86 p 10

[Article: "Bits and Pieces from Hervanta"]

[Text] The conflicting atmosphere of the meeting in Hervanta could be perceived outside of the building as well as inside. The publicity was most obviously divided.

The hall was decorated with a large symbol of the SKP. Inside the hall speeches were delivered against the SKP and its present leadership.

Many speakers and papers argued that "an energetic struggle is being waged for the SKP". The same speakers, however, were the whole time building their own party -- along with a central committee, politburo, and secretariat.

A man from Lapland asked upon entering the bus, "why did we come here at all since the decisions were already made in advance?"

The reason for the bitterness exhibited by this man from Lapland was certainly the fact that their Esko-Juhani Tennila was not even considered qualified as a member of the new central committee. Is Esko-Juhani then, after all, only an excellent advertising gimmick?

Jouko Kajanoja's supporters gave one to understand that the halt to the publication of their YHTENAISSYYS paper is not such an unfortunate event as was first thought. After a year even TIEDONANTAJA's name will be changed.

After familiarizing themselves with the lists of names, the experts stated that Kajanoja's supporters received only one-fifth of the positions in the new central committee. It was announced that General Secretary Kajanoja would

come after Chairman Taisto Sinisalo and Vice-Chairman Yrjo Hakanen in the hierarchy.

Second Vice-Chairman Marita Virtanen could not participate in the Hervanta meeting since the Virtanen family is expecting an addition. In practice, Virtanen's absence will last at least a year and a half.

The apparent unity was assured by the fact that only 26 speeches were selectively permitted while there were requests for 59 speeches in the general discussion. Markus Kainulainen's Uusimaa supporters, in particular, were amazed that just their slips of paper ended up at the bottom of the pile. Amazement was also expressed at the leader's lack of spirit at the faction's very own shadow meeting.

Even the fact that the representatives' cards were examined three times before entry into the hall was permitted in its own way already demonstrated the "calibre" of the meeting. Those remaining outside blessed the fact that a church was also located in the same building. No one, you see, had to have a permit to use the church's bathroom.

When one of the speakers demanded a "Gorbachev style" of the new party leadership, it appeared to the audience that some of the chairmen blushed.

On the other hand, one could not talk about any blush of enthusiasm at the meeting. A young editor stated upon leaving that "there was a taste of bitterness in the display of anger throughout the whole affair: we are here, now look at us!"

For the sake of certainty, Seppo Juvonen from Seinajoki challenged all the cursed "Aaltoites" to a fist fight.

The Hervanta meeting made quite an impression at the local level in Tampere. MP Marjatta Stenius was not acceptable for the new party's central committee, but Mikko Kuoppa made it all the way to the politburo. In addition to Marjatta, among other representatives from Tampere, Heikki Sneck, who has pursued a career in municipal life, and Taavi Lintunen, who has changed sides again, were also left on the sidelines.

It was noted already before the meeting that of the two MP's only Mikko was declared competent to be a speaker at the "Celebration of Struggle". His May Day round of speeches is also considerably more extensive than Marjatta's.

Activists in the trade union movement and foreign policy received considerable food for thought from the meeting at Hervanta.

The joint strike of the SAK [Finnish Confederation of Trade Unions] was now condemned as if it were something new.

Indeed, Sinisalo and Kajanoja said many times that they "support" Mauno Koivisto. But when they were given the choice of either Koivisto or Paavo Vayrynen, no answer was given since it was supposedly too early to pose this question.

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CSO: 3617/107

POLITICAL

ITALY

PCI'S PECCHIOLI ON GORBACHEV IMPACT

PM051559 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 4 Mar 86 p 9

[Interview with PCI Secretariat member Ugo Pecchioli by Alberto Jacoviello in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpts] Moscow--[Jacoviello] Your greetings message to the CPSU Congress embodied absolute and total support for the Gorbachev "line." Why?

[Pecchioli] Because we identified some extraordinarily innovative elements in his report. The strength of his indictment of the stagnation of Soviet society, which has led to a deterioration of its economic and social model, is a new and important factor. This has prompted us to examine his "line" with great interest.

[Jacoviello] Many perceive in delegates' speeches on the one hand the continuation of conformism and on the other signs of a political battle whose characteristics, however, are not yet apparent. What is your opinion?

[Pecchioli] We believe there is real support for Gorbachev's approach. However, in our opinion it would be wrong to underestimate the scale of a resistance that certainly has been apparent and that will continue to manifest itself, because the Gorbachev "line" impinges on very widespread forms of inertia and interests.

[Jacoviello] Do you mean that in a society such as this any innovative approach can prompt resistance or even opposition?

[Pecchioli] Resistance and opposition to innovation occur in all kinds of societies. Here in Soviet society, since there has been a very limited dialectic, the resistance and opposition could be greater. However, it seems to us that a new dialectic is taking shape.

[Jacoviello] The 20th Congress was set apart from previous congresses by Khrushchev's secret report. In your opinion what sets this one apart?

[Pecchioli] A more thorough analysis of the system's shortcomings. Khrushchev had to clear away a grim period characterized by degeneration and Stalin's crimes. Gorbachev's report delves much deeper and envisages structural changes in the economic order and management as well as in democratic life.

[Jacoviello] Where do you see these "structural" changes in democratic life?

[Pecchioli] For instance, in the call for the separation of roles between party and state, the pledge to revive the Soviets, and appeal to the trade unions to do their job, which is primarily to defend workers rights.

[Jacoviello] You said in your message to the congress that "the growth of workers' and citizens' democratic involvement in the country's life is a pre-condition for any real and lasting development. It seems to me that Natta went further than that when he was here recently. In fact his actual words were: "Nothing can take the place of the creative force of democracy." Have you not taken a step backward, Senator Pecchioli?

[Pecchioli] No. It seems to me that we both expressed the same basic idea in different words. We are indeed convinced in any cast that the Gorbachev "line" will succeed if it is based on Soviet citizens' democratically expressed consensus.

[Jacoviello] You condemned any kind of foreign intervention, which seemed to be a reference to Afghanistan too. When you talked about it directly, however, you confined yourself to expressing the hope for a political solution, using almost the same words as Gorbachev. Why this difference?

[Pecchioli] I was expressing a general principle which, as you say, applied to Afghanistan too. Obviously it is realistic, however, to believe and to say that the only solution to the Afghan crisis is a political one now.

[Jacoviello] At the congress you sat almost next to Babrak Karmal. Did you have a conversation with him?

[Pecchioli] No.

[Jacoviello] Did you seek one?

[Pecchioli] No.

[Jacoviello] Did Karmal seek one?

[Pecchioli] No.

[Jacoviello] In your opinion, is Gorbachev, that is, his leadership, strong or weak in the country?

[Pecchioli] I believe that he has a strength insofar as he expresses the fundamental demands of Soviet society today--the complete use of all this huge country's resources, modernization, rationalization, democracy, and so forth. However, I do not conceal from myself the fact that there are, and will continue to be, major forces capable of opposing such a line. I am referring primarily to the social stratification that has benefited from the stagnation and lack of democratic development.

[Jacoviello] What, in your opinion, is the reason for these sudden attacks on Reagan and his policy for the first time since Geneva?

[Pecchioli] In my opinion it is unlikely that Gorbachev could have replied any differently to Reagan's letter. On the other hand, it is a good thing that the U.S. Congress has passed a resolution in favor of ending nuclear tests. This means that in the United States there are not only extremists but also people on whom the USSR's stance has some kind of impact.

[Jaccoviello] Senator Pecchioli, all that you have said so far confirms the assessment implied in my first question, namely that you came here to grant full and total support to the Gorbachev line. Are those who maintain that the PCI is planning to mend the "wrench" right?

[Pecchioli] I repeat that there never was any "wrench." What there was was a disagreement over fundamental issues which also led us into a controversy over a certain number of matters, some internal to the USSR and some of an international nature. We now believe we can perceive in the line presented by Gorbachev some profound innovations which objectively bring the two parties closer together. In other words, there is in the "line" presented by Gorbachev a confirmation of the validity of the criticisms we made.

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CSO: 3528/130



POLITICAL

NORWAY

LABOR, LEFT SOCIALISTS OPPOSE NUCLEAR ARMED SHIPS, CHEMICAL ARMS

Labor Party District Resolutions

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 24 Feb 86 p 3

[Article by Einar Kr Holtet and Odd Inge Skjavesland]

[Text] We must continue to insist that foreign warships entering Norwegian ports do not carry nuclear arms. Annual Labor Party district meetings in Akershus, Nordland and Vest-Agder adopted resolutions to this effect last weekend. The Vest-Agder Labor Party also demanded that the government secure such guaranties. Government district policies were strongly criticized: "They impede jobs and settlement in the districts," said Labor Party finance spokesman Gunnar Berge, Nordland.

Akershus and Nordland districts unanimously adopted a resolution to refuse to admit nuclear-armed warships. A large minority opposed the resolution in Vest-Agder district.

The annual meeting of Akershus Labor Party defined that there shall be no nuclear arms on foreign ships in Norwegian ports. The Labor Party Youth Organization (AUF) adopted a version that referred to government-source statements as having "created doubt."

Nordland

At its annual meeting, the Nordland district party organization waited till the last sentence of a lengthy security-policy resolution to conclude: "We must continue to insist that foreign warships entering Norwegian ports not carry nuclear arms."

The Nordland district Labor Party feels that Norway must work more actively than ever to reduce East-West tension--within NATO as well as other international organizations. In this connection, the district party stressed a nuclear-arms freeze, establishing a nuclear-free corridor in Europe and working toward a nuclear-free Nordic zone.

"We are concerned about the increased military activity in Nordic waters due to a Soviet navy buildup," the Nordland Labor Party pointed out.

## Vest-Agder

With approximately 80 to 50 votes, the annual Vest-Agder district meeting was guaranteed to last longer than any other Labor Party district meeting. It "asked the government to impress upon foreign nations that Norway will continue to be a nuclear-free area, both with respect to visiting foreign warships and allied exercises on Norwegian soil."

"Its enforcement could be in terms of guaranties by foreign nations their ships carry no nuclear arms when entering Norwegian ports," according to a resolution by Vest-Agder Labor Party.

## Districts

Labor Party finance spokesman Gunnar Berge sharply criticized the government's district policies at the annual Nordland district party meeting.

"In many ways the Willoch-government has had a negative impact on jobs and settlement in the districts," said Berge. Among other things, he referred to the fact that population in the northernmost districts declined by almost 3,000 from January 1984 to July 1985, while it increased by more than 18,000 in the country as a whole.

Therefore, the deputy parliamentary Labor-Party leader warned that the party would again propose to establish funds for local ventures of up to 2 million kroner to benefit 20 to 25 of the worst-hit counties on a trial basis. He also promised that the largest opposition party would propose personnel-development funds for 100 small industries in Northern Norway and other developing districts. Berge also said it is strange that "district policies weaken whenever the Center Party is in government."

"I assume that due to the many problems connected with trade, industry and jobs, none of the delegates raised the issue of nuclear arms on foreign ships," parliamentary representative Kjell Opseth told AFTENPOSTEN. At the annual district meeting of Sogn and Fjordane Labor Party, deputy leader Einar Forde discussed the wear and tear within the government. "The Labor Party must be prepared to take over any time," said Forde.

Sogn and Fjordane Labor Party "declared" that the government "does not have the will to carry out policies that would solve district problems." The district party also criticized the nonsocialist "savings policy within the public sector" as being a threat to settlement. It requested more money for roads, bus and ferry services. The government should follow up on a parliamentary resolution to establish a technical college in Sogn and Fjordane, and the district should also get an engineering college.

## Paper Hits Warship Arms

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 26 Feb 86 p 6

[Editorial]

{Text} Norway has requested and been granted rather special privileges within the NATO alliance. Nuclear weapons are not and shall not be deployed

on Norwegian territory in peacetime. Other nations' military forces are not and shall not be permanently stationed here in peacetime. Also, the nuclear policy has been enjoined by a declaration to the effect that visiting warships shall not carry nuclear arms when entering Norwegian ports in peacetime.

This is basically the content of former Prime Minister Trygve Bratteli's statement of 1975. Bratteli also specified that Norwegian nuclear policy should not be broken or altered if, despite the government's condition, warships visiting Norwegian ports in the present or past were found to be carrying nuclear arms.

Several district Labor Party organizations are now submitting proposals to change the Bratteli statement on warships in Norwegian ports. The annual district meeting of the Oslo Labor Party will consider several such proposals this coming weekend. These proposals essentially demand that the Norwegian government actively pursue declarations from each and every visiting ship to the effect that they do not carry nuclear arms when entering Norwegian ports. These proposals are based on the suspicion that visiting ships, primarily U.S. warships, do not respect Norway's condition and still carry nuclear arms when they enter our ports. It is strongly suspected that the battleship "Iowa" had nuclear arms aboard on its visit to Oslo last year. We have no proof of this. As far as the "Iowa" is concerned, questions have been raised as to whether the ship actually did have nuclear arms aboard on its visit to Norway.

At first glance it may seem desirable to obtain a more definite guaranty than the general condition that all ships in Norwegian ports not carry nuclear arms. But we suspect that the consequences of this position are not equally clear to all who support the demand for a more specific guaranty.

Our relationship with the United States in particular will be threatened if a request for guaranties from every single ship were to become Norwegian policy. When the Foreign Affairs Committee visited Washington recently, U.S. authorities made it quite clear that a request for declarations from each and every ship would be completely unacceptable to the United States. This would minimize and possibly eliminate, or at least reduce the possibility of operating in the North Atlantic Ocean. The U.S. warning is not an empty one. Reactions toward New Zealand were rather sharp. And although Norway is more important to the United States strategically, this issue will undoubtedly affect Norwegian security policy in a fundamental way.

This is our perspective on the issue. In any event, we should debate Norwegian security policy, and this debate would be of an entirely different nature than the debate on whether one or more warships may have carried nuclear arms when entering a Norwegian port.

Proposals to request declarations from every visiting ship also have another effect; they undermine the attempt to establish a nuclear-free zone in the North. Our chances to promote a nuclear-free zone will be diminished by the political forces and the political "capital" spent on the issue of ships coming into our ports.

We have no doubt at all about where we might best spend our efforts. Furthermore, there is absolutely no need to invalidate the policy formulated by Bratteli. Instead, it should be protected against tendencies toward divergent formulations on the part of the government lately.

#### Brundtland Rejects Chemical Weapons

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 26 Feb 86 p 8

[Article by Halvor Elvik]

[Text] Labor-Party Leader Gro Harlem Brundtland opposes any Norwegian cooperation in starting U.S. production of chemical arms. Congress has stipulated that European NATO countries must agree to such weapons before starting production in the United States. Gro Harlem Brundtland referred to a joint statement by the Foreign Affairs Committee, Recommendation 225, on the agreement to ban production and storage of new chemical weapons. The party program goes one step further by supporting efforts to establish a chemical arms-free zone in Central Europe.

"The natural thing for Norway to do would be to opt for negotiations and oppose new arms. A chemical-arms ban was also a point in the Geneva Summit communique," said Brundtland.

#### Wrong to Start Production

"Should Norway support U.S. production of such weapons?"

"No, Norway should stress negotiations. European countries should not contribute to a process that will result in the production of chemical weapons. In addition to the party program, the Labor Party has supported the work of SPD in West Germany through Socialist International to establish a chemical arms-free zone in Central Europe."

#### Crisis Plans

The Labor Party leader also opposes talks between Norway and the United States relative to plans to deploy chemical weapons in Norway in a crisis-situation.

"The stand we should maintain is that Norway will not contribute to anything that might start the production of new chemical weapons," she said.

## In Parliament

Labor-Party representative Liv Aasen asked Minister of Foreign Affairs Stray about this yesterday. The Labor Party Foreign Affairs Committee wants to debate this issue in Parliament.

### "No Deployment of Chemical Weapons"

At its 13 February meeting, the NATO Military Committee agreed to ask the United States to replace its arsenals of old chemical weapons in Europe. This was NATO's initial response to U.S. production of new chemical weapons.

Norway's representative on the NATO Military Committee has indicated that Norway does not want chemical weapons.

"It is out of the question for Norway to enter bilateral negotiations with the United States on the deployment of chemical weapons in Norway in a crisis-situation," Ministry of Foreign Affairs Undersecretary Torbjorn Froysnes told ARBEIDERBLADET.

He pointed out that Norway will not take part in any such negotiations on any level.

"It is not Norwegian policy to deploy chemical weapons in Norway in a crisis-situation," said Froysnes, referring to Armament-Reduction Recommendation 101 as the latest document to confirm this.

## Without Debate

Froysnes said it is still somewhat unclear how the United States will handle the chemical weapons issue in NATO.

"U.S. opinion seems to be that Congress has decided new chemical weapons will be part of the U.S. arms goal. The goal with respect to individual countries can only be negotiated through the alliance and will not be subject to debate or approval by others," said Froysnes.

Military authorities are deciding the arms goal, which will only be reported to the various defense ministers at the Defense Ministers' meeting. The arms goal will not be subject to debate at the defense ministers' meeting constituting the NATO Council.

## Union Campaign Against SDI

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 25 Feb 86 p 7

[Article by Ole Ask]

[Text] Some 18 LO (Federation of Labor) unions have begun a spring offensive against Norwegian participation in the U.S. armed space program.



12 June 1986

They have issued a statement demanding that Norway use its international influence to stop both Soviet and U.S. plans to militarize world space.

This statement was aired at a press conference yesterday. Sometime this spring, possibly in April, Parliament will debate Norwegian industry's eventual participation in research connected with the U.S. armed space program, called SDI. It is in anticipation of this debate that LO is stepping up its efforts in cooperation with No to Nuclear Weapons. Among other things, the federation is planning a big rally supported by union representatives from the entire country just before the issue comes up for debate in Parliament.

However, Artur Svensson representing the Norwegian Chemical Industry Workers Union and Harald Overaas, the Norwegian Workers Union, promoters of the Rally, did not want to go into any details on this.

#### Stepped-Up Efforts

"This is just the initial phase of our stepped-up efforts against the militarization of world space and Norwegian participation in the U.S. star-war program," said Svensson.

Sometime this spring Parliament will debate two space-weapon proposals submitted by the Socialist Left Party and the Labor Party. According to the two union leaders, a parliamentary majority opposes Norway's participation in SDI.

The expressed aim of the union action is to call attention to this majority. Or, as Magne Barth representing No to Nuclear Weapons put it: "The Labor and Socialist Left parties' programs are clear and there is also support for saying "no" to Norwegian participation in the middle parties' programs."

This action on the part of LO, which includes a large number of industrial unions, but not the Iron and Metal Workers Union, establishes: SDI has no civilian aspect. Therefore, the unions call into question statements by the Conservatives, portions of Norwegian industry and the Industry Association.

#### Party Organizations Oppose N-Armed Ships

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 24 Feb 86 p 7

[Article by Grete Berget]

[Text] "We are not going to give in. According to presently available information, there is no reason to change our position, not even the Labor Party leader's sharp criticism of our proposal nor Akershus Labor Party's endorsement of same last weekend," said Thore Lauvsnes, head of the Metal Industry Labor Party organization. He is supported by Labor Party Youth-Organization (AUF) leader Turid Birkeland.

The Metal Industry Labor Party organization, AUF and Oslo Labor Party Women's Committee have submitted proposals demanding that foreign ships entering Norwegian ports guarantee they are not carrying nuclear arms. Labor Party leader Gro Harlem Brundtland has sharply criticized the proposals, pointing out that they conflict with the party-program's nuclear policy. The "nuclear debate" in Akershus Labor Party produced a unanimous resolution, i.e. full support of the party-program policy. The annual meeting of Vest-Agder Labor Party resulted in a majority vote to demand foreign ships entering Norwegian ports guarantee they do not carry nuclear arms.

#### Not Giving In

"The Labor Party is opposed to nuclear arms in Norwegian ports and, more and more, the suspicion that foreign ships do carry nuclear arms is being confirmed. Why then should we not demand guaranties or declarations?" asked Lauvsnes.

"We are not going to give in on the basis of the information we now have. Gro's information is not sufficient reason to change our position. We have not been given sensible explanations. If new information becomes available, we will join in the discussion of same," said Lauvsnes.

He is supported by Oslo AUF leader Turid Birkeland. "We are not giving in and I do not see anything new on this. What Gro is presenting is not new, but old arguments," said Birkeland.

Annar Lillemahlum, the head of Oslo Student Association, commented on the matter saying he supports the proposals' intent.

#### Researchers Organize Anti-SDI Campaign

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 6 Mar 86 p 80

[Article by Torill Nordeng]

[Text] "Star-war research is immoral; it can undermine peace. The goal is unobtainable and frightened people are deceived, being led to believe that a nuclear war can be fought in space alone." These words came from Norwegian researchers, led by two former university presidents. They urge the scientific community in Norway not to participate in any U.S. star-war program plan, and they will ask Parliament to say "no" to Norwegian star-war research.

Former university presidents Otto Bastiansen and Bjarne Waaler, together with research assistant Bjorn Kirkerud and Oslo University professor Hallstein Hogasen met with the Oslo press yesterday and submitted plans for a petition campaign among university and scientific-institute researchers in Norway. They do not wish to get involved in star-war technology, in the East or the West. A society called "Science and Responsibility in the Nuclear Age" is formally responsible for the campaign.

## Support

"We predict very good support. A number of Norwegian researchers have already refused to participate in the development of a data-controlled nuclear space-war system," said Bastiansen and Waaler.

Their arguments against star-war programs are many. They believe it will be impossible to build an impenetrable shield across the world, whereby nuclear weapons will not reach us.

They stress the key role of researchers in today's world, believing they have a moral obligation to humanity on earth, both with respect to this and future generations.

## Apolitical

All four leaders are very determined that the campaign not benefit a particular political view, although they clearly see questions that no doubt will be raised:

"Will our refusal to participate in the SDI program create anxiety within the NATO alliance? What about future negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, and what about a country like France that wants to be able to defend itself against attacks both from the East and the West?"

## Limitations

Both Waaler and Bastiansen see the limitations of a Norwegian petition campaign. Not all researchers will have the same moral evaluation. Others will see how useful this knowledge may be to research in more peaceful areas. Still others may be involved in marginal projects, where it might be difficult to trace funding back to the SDI program.

## Wrong to Refuse

Among those who do not share Waaler and Bastiansen's view is Johaness Moe, administrative director of SINTEF (Foundation for Industrial and Technical NTH Research). He feels it would be wrong to refuse Norwegian researchers and industries the chance to participate in and benefit from any knowledge derived from the SDI program. At the same time, he understands the moral issues confronting individual researchers.

"No SINTEF researcher will be requested to participate in an SDI-financed/affiliated project," he said.

### Frydenlund Defends NATO Interests

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 6 Mar 86 p 2

#### [Editorial]

[Text] We must not make demands that our allies cannot meet due to their security considerations. With these words, former Minister of Foreign Affairs Knut Frydenlund begged the annual assembly of the Oslo Labor Party not to adopt a resolution to demand that warships entering Norwegian ports declare they are not carrying nuclear arms. And Labor Party leader Gro Harlem Brundtland plainly stated she would not accept any such resolution.

Frydenlund's reasoning is clear and should have been submitted earlier. Several Labor Party district organizations have already adopted such nuclear resolutions, and we see this as going beyond all reasonable limits since the party leadership worked extremely hard to promote the only right solution. If all had tacitly approved the proposal submitted by a Oslo Labor Party Editorial-Committee majority, we would seriously have questioned the Labor Party's credibility in a vital area.

On the other hand, Mr Frydenlund could have saved himself the ill-chosen reference to the Conservative Party in this connection. According to him, the Conservative Party was poised in the starting gate, just waiting for an irresponsible resolution. "But this they are not going to get," said Frydenlund. Based on earlier experience, we believe that the nuclear guaranties' resolution may have been of greater benefit to the Socialist Left Party (SV) and No to Nuclear Weapons, which by means of the Labor Party resolution have gained considerable support for their own actions.

We interpret Gro Harlem Brundtland's strong opposition to the proposal more as a perception that it cannot be put into practice than as fear of conceding a cheap point to the Conservatives. Oslo Labor Party is very important to the largest opposition party. Issues raised and adopted here tend to set the pattern for the national party assembly, despite assertions over the years that it is time to "have a showdown" with the Oslo left wing. To a modest degree, but in an important area, this showdown has now taken place. The party leadership, with Knut Frydenlund as security-policy interpreter, has now made it clear that a party seeking government power cannot allow itself to be bound by resolutions that preclude participation in a defense alliance we all want Norway to be part of.

The annual meeting of the Oslo Labor Party has been characterized as a foreign-policy mine field. We agree that an irresponsible resolution would further complicate the situation in Parliament and damage the Labor Party itself, both short and long term. The valid Norwegian view on such issues was formulated by the Bratteli-government in 1975, specifying what our nuclear policy is. Nothing new has happened to call for an expansion of the Bratteli statement, and Knut Frydenlund's plea not to make impossible demands only underscores this.



POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

#### LIBYAN PEOPLE'S BUREAU OFFICIALS PLACED UNDER SURVEILLANCE

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 24 Apr 86 p 52

[Excerpts] The People's Bureau (embassy) of Libya in Lisbon has been placed under observation by the Portuguese authorities in order to establish or confirm the type of activities in which the Libyan officials and diplomats are engaging. None of them (even the head of the diplomatic mission) is accredited in Portugal, O JORNAL has learned from government sources.

Late in the spring of 1984, a Libyan citizen named Nuri Mohamed Betelmal called at the Portuguese Embassy in Paris and, displaying an official passport, requested a visa so as to travel to Lisbon. He was granted a visa a few days later.

At the beginning of the summer of that same year, Mohamed Betelmal presented himself at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon, claiming to be the "Libyan charge d'affaires." His personnel documents were examined at the MNE, and it was decided that there was "nothing to prevent" the Libyan diplomat from settling in Portugal.

On 7 July 1984, the Libyan People's Bureau, headed by its "secretary," Nuri Mohamed Betelmal, opened officially on Avenida das Descobertas in Lisbon. Under his direction, four other individuals began to work at the diplomatic mission--a press attache, a consular attache, and administrative affairs official and a financial officer.

#### Portuguese Government Tolerant

In addition to the secretary of the People's Bureau (who in practice is treated as an ambassador) and the other four representatives of the Arab Jamahiriya (officially, Libya has no career diplomats), an undetermined number of employees, including some "security" officers, keep the "embassy" operating.

About 2 years have passed. Nothing unusual has occurred involving the Libyans in Portugal, much less their diplomatic mission. However, neither Mohamed Betelmal nor any other official at the People's Bureau has ever presented any credentials to the Portuguese authorities.

In view of the "sui generis" aspect of the Libyan diplomatic missions abroad, with People's Bureaus instead of embassies and "secretaries" instead of



ambassadors, and since the same situation existed in other European countries, the Portuguese government "closed its eyes" to the somewhat obscure status of the Libyan diplomats in Portugal.

#### Never Any Differences

Asked about this matter by O JORNAL, Ambassador Brito e Cunha, the MNE spokesman, explained that "There have never been any differences between the Portuguese government and the Libyans," and he concluded that if the head of the People's Bureau has never been accredited in Portugal, "it is because his letters of credit were never presented in Lisbon."

It was not until the EEC ministers took a stand following the acts of terrorism committed in Europe and the American raid on Libya that the Portuguese government began to review the situation of the Libyan diplomats in our country.

#### People's Bureau Remains

The Portuguese authorities, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the meeting of the EEC ministers of foreign affairs in Luxembourg on Monday, summoned the Libyan diplomatic representative in Lisbon that same day to announce the implementation of measures limiting the free circulation of diplomats and other Libyan citizens in our country. The measures adopted at the Luxembourg meeting, of which Mohamed Betelmal was informed by Ambassador Ribeiro de Meneses, deputy director general for political affairs at the MNE, require the reduction of the number of Libyan diplomatic employees in the EEC countries to the number of European diplomatic personnel serving in Libya, and the expulsion of the diplomats or citizens of that Arab country suspected of involvement in terrorist activities.

The EEC member nations will implement these measures consistent with their interests, and it is not expected that Portugal will expel any of the People's Bureau diplomats serving in Lisbon, much less close down the Libyan diplomatic mission.

#### Surveillance

However, Qadhdhafi's embassy is under observation by the Portuguese authorities, as are 20 Libyan citizens who are working or studying in Portugal (in June of 1985, there were 17 Libyans here attending a pilots' course and two young people enrolled in university courses).

The number of Libyan diplomats in Portugal is not regarded as abnormal in terms of the situation in other European countries, in particular Greece (where the Libyan embassy has 40 employees). However, according to our sources, it is not quite normal either for the Libyan People's Bureau in Lisbon to have as many diplomats as the Greek Embassy in our country does, since the latter is a Community nation.

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CGTP SEEN ON THRESHOLD OF CHANGES

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 1 May 86 p 7

[Article by Jose Pedro Castanheira]

[Excerpts] Armando Teixeira da Silva is the main speaker at the celebration of the 1 May centennial sponsored by the CGTP-IN. However, this will be the last 1 May at which this official, who has held the highest post in the hierarchy of the confederation since 1977, will preside. The First Inter Congress, to be held at the end of May, will elect a new leader. The replacement of Teixeira is the most visible indication of a change which is taking shape in the leadership of this trade-union body, and above all in its political and trade-union strategy.

Since the end of last year, the replacement of Teixeira da Silva has been regarded as a certainty.

It is acknowledged that the last action of Teixeira da Silva as coordinator of the CGTP will be at the next national congress scheduled for 29-31 May, at which he will read the report on the last 3 years of activity. He will certainly be elected to a seat on the future national board of the trade union organization, but not to the position he has occupied for the last 9 years.

A Leader for Change

The replacement of Teixeira da Silva is based on various factors, some of them of a purely personal nature. In the past year it has become evident to ever broader circles in the trade union body that Teixeira da Silva was not the man best suited to head the process of change in the trade union body. This process is regarded as indispensable, being called change by some, while others prefer to speak of it as adaptation.

It is felt in CGTP circles in fact that the crisis in the trade union movement and in Portuguese society cannot be ignored, such that the trade union body would do well to draft a new strategy for action. The entry of Portugal into the European Economic Community, consistently opposed by the Inter; the inevitable opening up of the national economy to multinational companies, based on a very special business logic; the irreversible technological revolution; increasing weakening of the trade union movement; the

consolidation of the UGT as a workers organization; the aggravation of job insecurity, along with the spread of such problems as unemployment, back wages owed, term contracts and temporary work; the decreasing importance of "blue collar workers" in the working classes--all these are among the factors which suggested to the CGTP the need to redefine its strategy.

This strategy, moreover, had been regularly set aside in favor of priorities of a tactical nature, among which the political battle against the successive governments loomed large.

#### Support From Judas

The discussion was initiated a few months ago, and has already taken partial shape in the draft proposals for the theses to be submitted to the congress.

Many observers are increasingly convinced that a change in the union body, in terms of trade union strategy and political leadership, must, if it is to be profound, involve Jose Luis Judas. This view is shared by the majority of the minority factions in the body, and by a major portion of the communist faction as well.

Judas, the founder of the Intersindical in 1970 and a communist militant since the 1960s, has been called upon for leadership during all the periods of crisis, and it is he who was mainly responsible for the adaptation of the union body to the constitutional regime, which was effected at the congress in 1977, when he headed the single slate for the national secretariat. He is familiar with almost all the aspects of the business, but it is as a CGTP strategist that he has distinguished himself most. It is not surprising, then, that it is he once again who heads the "renewal" faction.

His popularity with the Inter ranks is undeniable, as was made clear at the last congress, where he was by far the speaker most enthusiastically applauded by the delegates. Where the present secretariat is concerned, he seems to have the support of all of the minority members, and of important communist cadres as well, such as Carvalho da Silva, Ernesto Cartaxo, Carmo Tavares and Florival Lanca. Among those with the most reservations about him are his party comrades Armando Teixeira da Silva, Alvaro Rana and Pacheco Goncalves. This split, moreover, is not of recent date, since it developed thanks to the two approaches coexisting within the communist trade union faction.

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#### UDP CLAIMS INCREASE IN TOTAL MEMBERSHIP

Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 19 Apr 86 p 12

[Article by Victor Bandarra]

[Text] Tome did not win the Sao Bento post, nor did Pintasilgo make it to Belem, and yet the UDP insists. Almost alone in the history of the European extreme leftist movements, it says it is winning ever more members. And it still has its gaze fixed on Albania.

The largest extreme leftist organization in Europe is Portuguese. It is called the UDP, and in 2 years it has increased the number of its militants by 42 percent, a party leader has told SEMANARIO. By figuring it up, one can say that more than 4,300 Portuguese citizens make their membership in the organization which defends "the true popular regime" a point of honor.

This week in VOZ DO OPERARIO, the UDP announced a national conference. For what purpose? To analyze the "new balance of forces" which has emerged following the presidential election. The organization supported Lourdes Pintasilgo and was defeated, but "it was all worth it." Moreover, the UDP "has now grown a great deal," we are assured.

The party does not hesitate to state that "Only we and the rightists have clear, although opposite, views about certain problems." The right wing is intelligent and "has a clear policy," which is not the case with either the PS or the PCP, according to the analysis of the men of the UDP.

With a proposal for struggle, the organization will in the near future oppose any possible "labor package," the Income Law and the Internal Security Law. Basically, these are three subjects which have been dear to the heart of the UDP since the glorious days of the PREC.

Concerned about "the dangers of increasing fascism" in the regime, the UDP sent a letter to the PS, PCP and MDP/CDE this week, proposing joint meetings to combat "the current project of the right wing."

Unity against the government, yes, but based on concrete struggles. Recently the UDP even refused to attend a joint meeting with the PCP, because the party of Alvaro Cunhal had not presented an agenda of items to be discussed. "We want to talk about concrete struggles, as it is of no interest to talk vaguely about joint positions."

The UDP admits that the government is acting intelligently in the labor sector. "It is doing things without fuss--discussing, approving and moving ahead," a leader said.

In the trade union struggle, the UDP is a part of the CGTP, in the so-called trade union class faction. This same leader said the recent decision to allow factions to exist in the trade union body will strengthen the positions of the UDP.

In addition, he is convinced, "The PCP is having serious difficulty supporting its positions in certain places."

On the regional level, the organization currently has 52 self-governing bodies under its control and had elected three parish council presidents, including the very special case of Machico, in Madeira, where Father Martins is as well known as Alberto Joao Jardim.

"More than 92 percent of the UDP militants are workers or working class people," the party leaders say with pride.

More than 70,000 Portuguese citizens gave their votes to the UDP in the last legislative elections. "This was a triumph," the leaders say. Defeat was even due to the lack of just one deputy in the parliament, since Mario Tome had 238 votes for the Sao Bento post, for the Lisbon area.

The UDP seems to have learned from its errors. While it has a deputy in the parliament, the party action was focused too much on the Sao Bento post, and organizational details in the field were neglected.

Later, at the congress, the so-called "people's 25 April" line was abandoned, since, this same leader recalls, "It was not very clear what it was."

Currently the task is "to gather forces, to organize and to blaze our own path." In other words, the UDP recognizes that the events of 25 April occurred 12 years ago and that "the struggles now are different."

As to the people's government, the UDP continues to think that the Soviet Union is social-imperialist, and it rejects the "paternalism" of the PCP, the "favoritism" of the PS, and obviously, what it calls the "fascist-oriented policy" of the PSD and the CDS.

On the international level, Albania also continues to be "the only socialist country in the world."

A Portuguese scientist affiliated with the UDP recently went to Albania as a proud solitary visitor. And he came back with a certainty. "They may not have luxuries or carpeted offices like ours, but they have more computers than Portugal." This is the philosophy.

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PRD OFFICIAL DISCUSSES PARTY POSITION, STRATEGY

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 24 Apr 86 p 8

[Interview with PRD President Herminio Martinho by Daniel Ribeiro in Paris in April 1986]

[Excerpts] Concern About the Government

[Question] What is the current position of the PRD concerning the government of Cavaco Silva?

[Answer] The government continues to function, it has every legitimate right to function, and we continue to follow all the actions of the government very closely, as is our duty, and to exercise, through the Assembly of the Republic, the supervisory action which is its constitutional responsibility. And we will never abandon this position. We will not create any artificial obstacles to the government's action, but we are in a way concerned about some issues which have been raised by the government against the Assembly of the Republic itself. They concern us because we do not know exactly what its purpose is in attributing to the AR less responsible activities on an almost permanent basis.

And this at a time when the AR has acted exclusively in accordance with its authority. And it will not cease to do so, it is well to make this clear. It is basic for the country and for democracy that the institutional bodies act in accordance with their authority. It is the government which depends on the AR, and that it should act for the first time in the way it should is normal and legitimate, and it should continue thus.

[Question] Thus the strategy of the PRD will not for now be frontal opposition to the government, but use of the ssembly to supervise its actions?

[Answer] I have told you that we will not take one step to create artificial obstacles for the government, but if the government begins to demonstrate that it is not capable of finding solutions to the main problems affecting us, we will do nothing to keep it in office artificially either.

## Assessment of President

[Question] About President of the Republic Mario Soares. How does the PRD see Mario Soares as president of the republic today?

[Answer] Dr Mario Soares was democratically elected, he is the president of the republic, and we hope that he will carry out his duties with full dignity and efficiency, because this is important for democracy and the country. It is important that the presidency of the republic be a factor in stability and dignity in Portuguese political life, as it was with General Eanes.

[Question] Do you think that Mario Soares enjoys better conditions for such dignity and stability in public life than, for example, would be the case for Freitas do Amaral?

[Answer] I believe that Dr Mario Soares will be capable of continuing to ensure these qualities of respect and dignity in the post of president which are needed for the stability and the dignity of the country itself.

## Important PRD Role

[Question] You said a short time ago that the PRD was a party in democratic socialism and the social democratic area. There are two parties which claim this space. How would you situate the PRD in relation to these two parties, above all in view of the fact that the situation in the PS may change again shortly?

[Answer] The situation in the PS is just that, and we have no reason to involve ourselves in the problems of the PS. These are problems on which, if such exist in the internal life of the PS or the PSD, we have a clear position. If the PSD had been a social democratic party in fact, and if the PS had been a socialist party in fact, and if, when they were in power, they had acted in practice in accordance with the principles and programs set forth, the Democratic Renewal Party would certainly not have emerged in Portugal.

[Question] And what if they were now to change in this direction, in a direction regarded by the PRD as more positive?

[Answer] Certainly some improvement in this direction might even have something to do with the appearance of our own party. What is certain is that actions are expected to occur today which will be very positive for the democratic life of our country, already due to the actions of the PRD, and this is a concrete and real situation and the people of Portugal will follow it and analyze it. I hope that in fact, thanks to our actions, the people will be able to continue to see this change and this new political practice, understanding that this very positive position in Portuguese political life is already concrete evidence that something will change in Portugal for the better, and that the PRD must play an important role in this change.

## PCP Can Be Positive

[Question] The PCP has always defended your establishment as a party. How does the PRD regard the PCP in Portuguese political life?

[Answer] We took the initiative in making contact and launching a dialogue with all the parties. We did the same with the PCP, and we believe that in democracy dialogue is fundamental, and we will continue along this line.

[Question] Do you regard the actions of the PCP as positive for Portuguese society at this time?

[Answer] Today the actions of the PCP are limited to the Assembly of the Republic, and if it acts solely within democratic parameters, its actions will always be positive.

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## YOUTH POLL ON ATTITUDES, IDEALS, POLITICS

### Values Ranked

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 25 Apr 86 pp 16R-18R

[Text] Of course, anyone younger than 25 today did not breathe the atmosphere of the previous regime, nor was he fed by the euphoria of 25 April [1974]. In other words, he did not experience the revolution, with all the upheaval (perhaps the greatest of the century) that signified for Portuguese society. But when posing the question of whether the young people experienced the revolution, one is dealing not so much with their personal experience (as they were not yet adolescents at the time), but rather is trying to learn whether the heady years of 1974 and 1975 had any effect on those who were then still growing up.

This was the central objective of an EXPRESSO/EUROEXPANSAO survey of Portuguese youth over 15 years of age. And, before going into a detailed analysis of the figures, we can advance one major conclusion: young people, as a rule, do not think much differently than adults. Which leads to posing another question: could it be that, 12 years ago, there was a social upheaval at the same level as that reached by another, of a political nature? Upon evaluation of the data of this study, there seems to have been a particular continuity in that field.

So let's look into the survey, in the order in which it was presented, to see how one could reach such a conclusion.

The first question asked of those interviewed consisted of showing them a list of 19 notions about life drawn up by those responsible for the survey and asking them to select the one that, to them, was most important (first part of Table 1).

Almost one-fifth (19 percent) chose as their highest objective achievement of "a peaceful world," followed closely by more individualistic objectives: "a comfortable life" and "family security." Curiously, altruism seems to carry greater force with the young, as the value chosen most often by those over 25 is "a comfortable life." The difference, however, is not great enough to be considered significant.

In fact, the choices of both age groups are almost the same: the ideals mentioned above have almost the same percentage weight in both groups, as do most of the rest. In other words, both desire and reject the same things. The differences

Table 1: What Is the Most Important Goal of Life? [figures are percentages]

Part I: Choose Only One:

Ideal	Total	Age		Sex/Age				Socio-economic Level			
		Under 25	Over 25	Male		Fem.		Upper	Middle	Lower	Lower
				Under 30	Over 30	Under 30	Over 30				
Peaceful world	19	21	18	20	14	20	22	19	19	18	21
Comfortable life	18	15	19	16	17	22	19	12	15	21	21
Family security	12	7	13	8	17	10	11	2	13	13	12
Happiness	7	7	7	5	7	7	7	9	7	6	9
Freedom	6	9	5	9	5	7	4	10	6	5	4
Salvation of soul	5	3	6	3	5	2	8	5	4	5	9
Self-realization	5	11	3	13	4	6	2	12	6	4	2
True friendship	5	4	5	3	6	7	3	2	7	4	3
Fight for justice	3	3	3	1	6	2	2	7	3	2	5
Dignity	3	1	4	3	5	1	3	4	4	3	1
Equality	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	3	3	0
Wisdom	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	4	2	1
Enjoyment of life	2	2	2	1	3	2	2	0	2	3	3
An exciting life	2	7	1	8	0	1	1	1	1	3	2
True love	2	1	2	1	0	2	3	2	1	2	2
World of beauty	2	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	1	2	0
National security	1	2	1	1	0	1	2	2	2	1	0
Inner harmony	1	1	1	2	0	0	2	3	1	1	0
Social standing	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	1	0

Part II: Choose the Five Most Important:

Ideal	Total	Age		Sex/Age				Socio-economic Level			
		Under 25	Over 25	Male		Fem.		Upper	Middle	Lower	Lower
				Under 30	Over 30	Under 30	Over 30				
Peaceful world	69	69	69	68	66	68	73	64	70	70	67
Comfortable life	40	39	41	36	42	46	39	26	33	46	52
Family security	47	38	50	14	29	19	38	7	36	45	13
Happiness	45	49	44	39	44	52	47	46	43	46	49
Freedom	36	41	35	50	40	31	29	39	42	33	30
Salvation of soul	20	10	24	7	24	13	56	6	23	53	18
Self-realization	18	29	15	31	15	25	12	36	22	14	9
True friendship	29	31	29	17	26	41	32	23	27	30	37
Fight for justice	28	27	29	33	38	22	21	46	29	27	18
Dignity	24	17	26	25	28	17	23	31	29	20	18
Equality	26	27	26	33	29	23	23	23	25	29	24
Wisdom	10	13	10	13	10	9	10	12	11	11	6
Enjoyment of life	17	25	15	26	17	16	14	15	16	20	14
An exciting life	8	20	4	20	4	12	3	16	7	8	5
True love	26	29	25	25	23	29	26	18	30	23	29
World of beauty	6	6	7	4	8	8	6	6	5	8	7
National security	17	12	19	12	23	13	17	18	20	16	12
Inner harmony	13	11	14	14	8	10	18	19	13	11	18
Social standing	6	6	5	8	8	2	4	8	7	5	3



are not really very surprising: the adults are more concerned about "family security" because they certainly have a better appreciation of what this means; young people are more likely to choose "self-realization" and "an exciting life" because, at their age, all dreams are permissible. One also notes greater mysticism ("salvation of the soul") on the part of adults and greater desire for "freedom" on the part of the young.

Analyzing the findings of the survey, one concludes that the greatest differences are between those under 25 and those over 30. In other words, the sharpest line of demarcation is somewhere within the 25-to-30 age group (those who were 14 to 15 years old on 25 April 1974), which means that, if indeed there are opposing (although not very radically) groups in this study, they can be divided between those who were just coming into maturity at the time of the revolution and those who at that time already had an extensive awareness of the world.

Thus, in cross-checking between sex and age, findings for those over and under 30 are shown (see Table 1). The most intriguing conclusion to be obtained from this operation involves "self-realization": it is seen immediately that the weight of this ideal in the overall results is due above all to its being an ambition of the young men who took part in the survey.

#### Same Ideals

Skipping over a breakdown of the findings according to socioeconomic status (shown here merely as a curiosity, as we are essentially seeking intergenerational differences), we come to the second part of Table 1, which summarizes the answers to another question. It develops from the previous question, this time asking the person to choose not just one but the five ideals he considers most important in his life (of course, the vertical sum of the percentages will now be 500 instead of 100).

There is a striking consistency of the five most-mentioned ideals with the first part of the table and between the two age groups. Curiously, "salvation of the soul," which the young people mentioned less frequently than the adults in the previous part, is now mentioned more often in that age group. Which means that, although not putting it in first place, those under 25 give this objective paramount consideration among the five most important things in their lives [as published].

Among the five ideals ranking after the five mentioned most often, there is a similar phenomenon: although far from being a goal to put ahead of all the rest (it was in only 16th place in the first part), "true love" emerges much more frequently here--it is now in 8th place in overall ranking (and 7th among those under 25).

In this category as well the same ambitions are mentioned by both groups, except that the youngsters prefer "self-realization" to "dignity."

#### Sex, Age Contradictions

Everything becomes more complicated when cross-checking sex and age. "Family security" appears among the five most important themes only for women over 30,

falling to 13th place among men in the younger group. In fact, one begins to note at this point the difference between younger men and older women, which becomes a characteristic of the rest of the survey. It is noted, for example, in regard to "family security," "freedom," "salvation of the soul," "enjoyment of life," "an exciting life" and "self-realization." This difference indicates a greater ambition and social altruism on the part of young men and greater conservatism and conformity on the part of women over 30.

Based upon the replies to the previous question, and establishing 10 as the median of the 19 possible choices, it is possible to set up a mathematical value scale in keeping with the frequency of citation for each of the ideals. If this score is above the median, it has positive value; if not, it is negative. The results of this computation are shown in Table 2.

These figures permit a better observation of some differences. Thus, "peace," "security," "happiness" and "a comfortable life," as well as the somewhat mythical "world of beauty," are more characteristic of the older generation, while the somewhat hedonistic principles ("enjoyment of life," "an exciting life," self-realization," "wisdom" and "social standing") are a privilege of youth.

The differences between men under 30 and women over 30 also become clearer, especially in the categories already mentioned.

#### Honesty: Greatest of Virtues

Another set of questions was then given to those being interviewed, also having to do with ideals, but this time having to do with personality traits. Specifically, they were shown a list of--likewise--19 personal qualities and asked: "Which of these characteristics do you feel is most important to be found in someone?" (first part of Table 3).

"Honesty" was the characteristic chosen most often in the national total and in any of the groups included. But although Portuguese youth feel that honesty is the highest virtue, they also like persons who are well-mannered, open, cheerful and responsible. On the other hand they have little regard for those who are logical, intellectual, charitable or imaginative. This pattern of evaluation is, for the most part, the same for the younger ones as well as for the older. Clearly, young persons prize more greatly cheerfulness and--curiously--responsibility and ambition, but, like the others, ignore the characteristics that could be considered as indicative of an intellectual or artistic sensitivity: talent, logic, intellectuality and imagination.

In the replies about the five most important characteristics of the ideal person (second part of the same table) it is possible to distinguish sharper differences. In fact, youth seems to be associated with values related to individual initiative and (in spite of everything) some rebellion--ambition, independence, self-control and imagination (mentioned much more frequently here than in the first part). Older persons, in turn, show some signs of subservience and resignation: obedience, usefulness and charitableness.

Ambition is above all a characteristic of young men, as shown in the sex/age comparison--something they possess three times as much as women over 30 (again the

Table 2: Portuguese Value Scale of Ideals

Ideal	Total	Under Over		Male	Female	Male Male		Female Female	
		25	25			Under 30	Over 30	Under 30	Over 30
Peaceful world	30	13	27	18	24	11	14	11	22
Family security	14	3	14	8	12	3	8	7	9
Happiness	12	6	11	6	11	3	6	6	9
Comfortable life	10	4	9	6	8	3	6	5	6
Freedom	7	4	5	7	2	6	5	1	1
Fight for justice	1	0	1	4	-4	1	4	-1	-3
Equality	1	0	-1	1	-3	1	1	-1	-2
True friendship	1	1	1	-2	4	-3	0	3	2
True love	-1	1	-2	-2	0	-1	-2	1	0
Dignity	-3	-4	-1	0	-4	-1	1	-3	-2
Salvation of soul	-4	-7	-2	-7	0	-7	-4	-4	2
Self realization	-6	1	-9	-2	-7	2	-6	0	-9
Enjoyment of life	-9	-1	-10	-4	-9	-1	-4	-4	-8
National security	-9	1	-2	-2	0	-1	-2	1	0
Inner harmony	-13	-7	-11	-11	-8	-4	-12	-8	-5
Wisdom	-18	-6	-18	-11	-15	-5	-10	-8	-13
An exciting life	-22	-2	-32	-11	-22	-2	-19	-6	-27
A world of beauty	-27	-12	-24	-17	-21	-15	-12	-8	-21
Social standing	-32	-13	-29	-16	-33	-10	-12	-21	-27

Table 3: What Is the Ideal Characteristic for a Person? [figures are percentages]

Characteristic	Select Only One:						Choose the Five Most Important:			
	Total	Age		Total	Age		Sex/Age			
		Under	Over		Under	Over	Male		Female	
		25	25		25	25	Under 30	Over 30	Under 30	Over 30
Honesty	23	20	24	78	77	79	82	79	75	77
Courtesy	12	10	13	62	59	63	55	65	58	64
Openness	12	12	12	29	33	28	35	25	30	29
Cheerfulness	11	15	9	44	56	40	48	37	52	42
Responsibility	11	14	10	49	52	48	50	48	50	48
Ambition	5	8	4	12	20	10	21	11	15	7
Obedience	4	3	4	21	11	24	13	26	17	23
Talent	4	2	5	17	19	16	20	18	15	16
Cleanliness	4	3	4	31	26	32	27	31	32	32
Courage	3	3	3	35	33	36	33	38	36	33
Independence	2	2	2	12	16	10	18	12	11	7
Usefulness	2	1	2	33	23	36	27	40	24	34
Affection	2	2	2	15	14	15	9	8	20	20
Amorousness	2	2	1	16	20	15	10	14	27	16
Self-control	2	4	1	8	14	7	18	6	9	5
Logic	1	1	1	5	6	5	6	7	7	2
Intellectuality	1	0	1	5	5	6	5	6	2	7
Charitableness	0	0	0	3	1	4	2	4	2	4
Imagination	0	0	0	12	16	11	21	13	10	8

Table 4: Portuguese Value Scale

Characteristic	Total	Under 25	Over 25	Male Under 30	Male Over 30	Female Under 30	Female Over 30
Honesty	40	16	37	17	22	14	26
Courtesy	24	9	22	7	14	8	17
Responsibility	14	7	12	6	7	6	9
Cheerfulness	11	8	8	5	4	6	7
Courage	5	2	5	5	2	4	2
Cleanliness	3	-1	4	0	2	1	2
Openness	3	2	2	3	0	1	2
Usefulness	3	-2	5	0	4	-1	3
Obedience	-5	-7	-2	-5	-1	-3	-2
Talent	-8	-3	-8	-2	-4	-4	-6
Amorousness	-9	-3	-9	-7	-6	0	-6
Affection	-11	-5	-10	-8	-12	-2	-4
Ambition	-14	-2	-17	-1	-8	-4	-17
Independence	-15	-4	-15	-2	-7	-6	-15
Imagination	-16	-4	-16	-2	-7	-7	-15
Self-control	-22	-5	-25	-3	-15	-8	-21
Intellectuality	-30	-14	-26	-12	-15	-18	-17
Logic	-33	-11	-32	-11	-13	-10	-42
Charitableness	-44	-34	-35	-44	-29	-19	-25

same divergence). The same can be said for independence, imagination and self-control--on the part of the former--and for affection--on the part of the women.

The distance between younger men and older women can be confirmed by Table 4--again a scale of scores attributed to each of the characteristics, in keeping with the answers given to the last question. It can be noted especially in regard to courtesy, ambition, independence, imagination, self-control and logic.

Lastly, a series of 15 phrases related to everyday life, with which the interviewee is to say whether or not he agrees (Table 5 showing the percentage of positive answers), makes it possible to establish a personality profile of each age group. A cursory reading of the lines related to social life and religion, the situation of women (in domestic and sexual terms), legalization of marijuana, obedience, world changes and married life serves to conclude that the younger people are less conservative, more open and tolerant. (Even so, more than half agree that it is better to obey than to command, that the world is changing too rapidly or that religion is important for happiness.)

Could this be a result of a liberalization of customs that has followed the revolution? If it were so, the generation that was most affected by 25 April, and that is now about 30 or approaching it, should think in the same manner. But the survey does not indicate that: the group of the "children of the revolution" is in the middle of the road between the younger people and those who are over 25 as a whole (for example, 35 percent think a woman's place is in the home, 39 percent favor sexual freedom for women and only 4 percent agree with legalizing marijuana). In other words, it is a group that is growing older normally, becoming more conservative.

Table 5: Choice of Phrases With Which One Agrees (figures are percentages)

	Age				Sex/Age			
	Under		Over		Male		Female	
	25	30	35	40	Under	Over	Under	Over
Total	25	30	35	40	Male	Female	Male	Female
I have attended a cocktail party or a formal dance during the last 6 months.	9	17	7	12	7	16	9	4
Religion is important for a full and happy life.	77	68	79	72	80	68	75	86
Achieving one's objectives is a matter of organization and work.	89	89	89	90	87	89	91	87
It is good to be competitive in work, in school and in sports.	88	88	88	91	85	91	91	85
A woman's place is in the home.	45	23	52	47	44	26	59	52
Smoking marijuana should be legalized.	7	14	5	8	6	12	5	2
From the economic point of view, I don't expect the future to bring much improvement.	45	48	44	48	43	42	51	41
I am usually busy all day.	75	66	78	70	79	70	71	81
To avoid conflicts, it is better to follow orders.	66	55	69	63	68	57	66	73
I wish my life were not so boring and routine.	68	69	68	70	67	70	69	65
The world is changing too rapidly.	63	52	66	60	66	55	63	70
Despite everything, I am happy with the life I lead.	76	75	76	74	77	69	77	76
It is perfectly all right for a couple to marry without wanting to have children.	53	73	47	58	48	76	48	42
Women should have greater sexual freedom.	37	58	30	46	29	62	37	21
We are spending too much money on armaments.	75	77	74	80	70	78	82	66



That is what apparently will happen with today's young people, whose liberalism is not very extreme, and tempered by a moderate dose of ambition and respect for power and authority, so that it does not seem to be more than the result of ephemeral youth itself. In sum, they have not experienced a revolution, in any sense of the word.

#### Methodological Notes

Universe: Population over 15 years of age, living in mainland Portugal (in localities with five or more homes).

Sample: One thousand and thirty individuals interviewed directly and personally in their homes (in 128 localities), using a structured questionnaire. Distribution of the sample is proportional according to region, habitat, sex, age and education of the universe. These variables were used to select the sample, following the "quota" technique.

Field work: Between 24 February and 10 March 1986, conducted by 56 supervised interviewers.

Reliability of findings: The margin of error (semi-amplitude of the confidence interval) is at most 3.1 percent for an 0.95 degree of confidence.

EUROEXPANSAO is responsible for the survey and EXPRESSO is responsible for analysis of the findings.

#### What Party Leaders Think

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 25 Apr 86 pp 20R, 21R

[Text] What are the ideals of the leaders of the political organizations for youth? And what do they think of the ideals of those whom they represent?

Nothing would be better than to ask them also to reply to this survey's questionnaire. The request was granted by Carlos Coelho, of the Social-Democratic Youth, Jose Apolinario, coordinating secretary of the Socialist Youth, Joao Paulo Silva, of the PRD [Democratic Renewal Party] (in the absence of Ana Gonçalves, coordinator of Renewal Youth), Henrique Neves, of the Communist Youth, and Manuel Monteiro, of Centrist Youth.

The replies they gave us (see tables and analyses) reveal more points of contact than perhaps could have been expected and, at the same time, a way of looking at problems different from that shown in the survey by the majority of young people interviewed. It could even be said that at times these young leaders already belong to another generation, or better, that they come very close to the sort of concerns that preoccupy the older leaders of their parties.

In any event, they show an awareness of the change in attitudes. Carlos Coelho, for example, cites 25 April as the turning point:

"That is where the boundary is, the before and after," he points out. The 'before' were those generations that grew up in a society still very much marked by taboos,

the 'after' refers to those who were adolescents and have been brought up with greater freedom, a freedom that neither was nor is purely political."

The liberalization of information, for example, has opened the way for penetration of images, messages and new forms of behavior and of relationships, previously unthinkable. For the young Social Democrat, this turning point was further marked by the influence of those returning from the colonies, many of them accustomed to other more open forms of life: "Look at what has happened to night life, for example."

#### 'Time Bomb'

Jose Apolinario locates the change more in the area of political behavior: "There was a first phase of great agitation and nonconformity and now there is a great deal of disunity." Confrontation had to be followed by a phase of greater adaptation to exterior reality.

"But this will come to an end," he adds. "Tensions are increasing, the situation of youth is very difficult. The youth of our country are increasingly a time bomb."

A somewhat similar view is held by Joao Paulo Silva. Comparing his generation--and he is only 26 years old--with that of today's adolescents, the Renewal Party leader feels the latter have much less idealism:

"Today's youth are passing through a very materialistic phase," he explains. "What is important is to have a house, get a job, get good grades in school. They are more individualistic."

Joao Paulo Silva, however, raises the question of the legitimacy of speaking of only one "youth," and even asks whether it is correct to consider the associative movements of the early 1970's as representative of all youth. He thus questions, for example, the existence of a generation of definable values, such as that in France following May 1968.

An advocate of more gradual change, Manuel Monteiro clearly refutes such a rupture and adds:

"I don't feel all that differently than my parents and grandparents. Of course, there are other patterns of behavior, particularly a greater willingness to engage in dialogue."

An example of this would be the greater facility with which, in the Assembly of the Republic, young people representing different parties come to agreement about the matters that concern them.

Lastly, Henrique Neves associates youth with the concerns that to him seem ideologically fundamental: equality, justice, fraternity. For that reason, he could not refrain from steering the discussion to the political arena:

"These positive sentiments, unfortunately, are being used politically for opposite purposes, by forces that represent the past."

These different views about what is--or is not--changing among youth reveal not only divergent political positions but also the difficulty of analyzing a phenomenon that, as acknowledged by Jose Apolinario, may be characterized especially by the lack of permanency of the new values that are emerging. Rather than the image of a single movement, as in other times, today's young people seem to embody a myriad of diverse --when not contradictory--movements and sentiments.

#### Differences Between Youth, Leaders

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 25 Apr 86 p 20R

[Text] In the field of ideas and values, what separates the youth leaders of the five parliamentary parties seems to be related, on the one hand, to their own personality profile and, on the other, to a certain effort to approximate what they consider to be the preferences of youth.

To such a degree that it is indeed curious that the representatives of the two extremes of the party spectrum--Henrique Neves of Communist Youth and Manuel Monteiro of Centrist Youth--are those that showed the greatest number of ideas in common. If we take as a reference the five primary ideals of life and the five primary personal values, these two leaders have 7 replies in common out of a possible 10. Of course, "freedom," "the struggle for justice" or "a peaceful world" do not mean the same thing for both of them, but the fact that their choices coincide to such a large extent is indeed significant.

This fact is explained, perhaps, by the fact that these young party leaders pursue such values as a certain collective political responsibility, in keeping with their own militancy. This type of choice differs from the average standards of Portuguese youth, which are shown to be less altruistic--at least in words--and more individualistic. Values such as "a comfortable life," "self-realization," and "family security," which none of the young political leaders expressed, rise to the top of the list of the concerns of youth. Conversely, very few of the anonymous youth mention values such as the "struggle for justice" or "inner harmony."

This tendency sharpens when we pass to the traits most important in a person, as the only value to receive the unanimous vote of the five leaders--"openness"--ranks only fourth among the preferences of youth, with a slight edge over being "courteous," a concern to which the young political leaders gave no importance.

Qualities such as being "imaginative," "competent" or "useful," mentioned more than once in this small inquiry, were almost ignored by youth in general.

On the other hand, it is significant to note the weight of "honesty," a quality mentioned by four of the five party leaders, twice in first place, and which also heads the list in the national survey.

In regard to what each leader thought to be the preferences of Portuguese youth, those that came closest were the representatives of the communist, socialist and renewal parties, being correct in 6 of the 10 possibilities. However, it is curious to note that whereas Henrique Neves, of Communist Youth, indicated that his own values were also those of Portuguese youth, both Joao Paulo Silva and Jose

Table 1: The Most Important Values

Population Under 25	Carlos Coelho (JSD)	Jose Apolinario (JS)	Joao Paulo Silva (PRD)	Henrique Neves (JCP)	Manuel Monteiro (JC)
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IDEALS:

Peaceful world	Happiness	Freedom	Freedom	Freedom	Peaceful world
Comfortable life	Peaceful world	Equality	Fight for justice	Peaceful world	True love
Self-realization	Inner harmony	Fight for justice	Peaceful world	Fight for justice	Freedom
Freedom	An exciting life	Peaceful world	True love	Dignity	Fight for justice
Happiness and	True friendship	Happiness	Inner harmony	An exciting life	An exciting life
Family security					

PERSONALITY TRAITS:

Honesty	Honesty	Honesty	Cheerfulness	Openness	Openness
Cheerfulness	Openness	Openness	Openness	Honesty	Courage
Responsibility	Competence	Responsibility	Independence	Courage	Ambition
Openness	Imagination	Competence	Ambition	Cheerfulness	Honesty
Courtesy	Courage	Usefulness	Usefulness	Competence	Imagination

Key:

- JSD: Social Democratic Youth
- JS: Socialist Youth
- PRD: Democratic Renewal Party
- JCP: Communist Party Youth
- JC: Centrist Youth



Apolinario indicated that youth in general are more individualistic than they themselves claimed to be.

Whereas Manuel Monteiro has five of the possibilities correct, Carlos Coelho, representing what is acknowledged to be the most powerful of youth organizations, missed the target entirely: only three of the ideals he cited coincided with those on the list of the ten most often mentioned by youth.

Lastly, we asked the five youth organization leaders about the same 15 phrases used in the EXPRESSO/EUROEXPANSAO survey. Their "yes" or "no" answers, which in Table 2 can be compared with the percentage of youth who agreed with them in the survey, provide an interesting comparison of the opinions of youth and of their political leaders.

#### Urban Youth Vote Analyzed

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 25 Apr 86 p 21R

[Text] The small margin by which Mario Soares was elected president of the republic would have been even smaller if, on 16 February, only the youth electorate of Lisbon and Porto had voted.

In fact, Freitas do Amaral rose from about 47 percent of the vote in the municipalities of Lisbon and Porto, in the second round of the presidential elections, to 49 percent, if we include only the vote of the young people in the nation's two largest urban centers.

These figures, although they show a shift of the young electorate to the right in the political spectrum, do not, on the other hand, confirm the image that was used during the electoral campaign as to an undeniable majority support by young people for the former CDS leader's candidacy. In fact, the more enthusiastic and numerous participation by youth in the Freitas election campaign was not translated proportionately in the percentages of the youth vote. And Mario Soares even manages to retain a slight majority of the preference of the youngest voters in the Lisbon and Porto population.

The substantial vote obtained in the first round by the "Onward Portugal" campaign was an expression of the cohesion and dynamism of youth that the current president of the republic did not arouse until the second round, after having supplanted Zenha and Pintasilgo. Moreover, the involvement of many adolescents too young to vote, especially high school students who turned teaching establishments into campaign centers for Freitas do Amaral, may have led to some predictions giving the Christian Democrat candidate more crucial support from youth in the election.

The method adopted does not permit a reliable analysis of the behavior of youth in rural areas, as it becomes difficult to differentiate the youth vote from the adult electorate in sections with isolated and dispersed voting. It would be improper, moreover, to draw conclusions about the voting of rural youth by extrapolating the information obtained in Lisbon and Porto. But it can be assumed that, as the Freitas do Amaral vote was predominantly rural, there was likewise a relative predominance there of the youth vote in the center-right candidate's cause. One may



Table 2: Fifteen Revealing Phrases

Statement	Population Under 25 Years of Age (*)	Carlos Coelho (JSD)	Jose Apolinario (JS)	Joao Paulo Silva (PRD)	Henrique Neves (JCP)	Manuel Monteiro (JC)
I have attended a cocktail party or a formal dance during the last 6 months.	17	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
Religion is important for a full and happy life.	68	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Achieving one's objectives is a matter of organization and work.	89	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
It is good to be competitive in work, in school and in sports.	88	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
A woman's place is in the home.	23	No	No	No	No	No
Smoking marijuana should be legalized.	14	No	No	No	No	No
From the economic viewpoint, I do not expect much improvement in the future.	48	No	No	No	No	No
I am usually busy all day.	66	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
To avoid conflicts, it is preferable to obey than to command.	55	No	No	No	No	No
I wish my life were not so boring and routine.	69	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
The world is changing too rapidly.	52	No	No	Yes	No	--
Despite everything, I am happy with the life I lead.	75	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
It is quite all right for a couple to marry without wanting to have children.	73	Yes	Yes	--	Yes	Yes
Women should have greater sexual freedom.	58	Yes	--	Yes	Yes	--
We are spending too much money on armaments.	77	Yes	--	Yes	Yes	--

(\*) Percentage of "yes" answers.

[Table: Estimated Youth Voting in Second Round]

To determine the vote of the young electorate, the rosters of the 53 Lisbon parishes and the 15 Porto parishes referring to the second round of the presidential elections were consulted. The polling places in each parish in which the new voters were registered (and which in general correspond to the latest voting) were chosen. In this way--and because the new registrants consist mostly of young people who became eligible to vote at age 18 (and a small percentage of citizens who changed addresses)--partial results were obtained where the youth vote predominates and which constitute a reasonable basis for approximating the electoral behavior of urban youth.

Second Round (16 February 1986)

<u>Municipality</u>	<u>Voting Segment</u>	<u>Mario Soares</u>	<u>Freitas do Amaral</u>
Lisbon:	Total Vote	277,407 (53.2%)	244,254 (46.8%)
	Youth Vote	14,585 (51.4%)	13,780 (48.6%)
Porto:	Total Vote	115,349 (52.7%)	103,656 (47.3%)
	Youth Vote	7,735 (50.1%)	7,708 (49.9%)

thus suppose that at the national level, including the total urban and rural vote, young people are virtually evenly divided in their choices of the two political blocs that were contesting the 16 February elections.

It can be added that, in regard to the two urban centers being analyzed, Mario Soares improves his score among youth, relative to his total vote, in 5 of the 15 Porto parishes: Foz, Miragaia, S. Nicolau, Se and Vitoria. Freitas do Amaral records increases in about 30 of the 53 Lisbon parishes, notably in Ajuda, Alcantara, Alto do Pina, Benfica, Campolide, Encarnação, Lapa, Marvila, Prazeres, Sta. Isabel, S. Condestavel and S. Jose, among others.

What influence is this moderate shift of the young electorate to the right likely to exert in future elections? Immediately, one must not forget that the weight of the youth vote is quite diluted among about 8 million voters. But as it is probable that, for example, in the 1991 presidential elections between 500,000 and 700,000 new voters will be registered, this trend of the youth vote may become significant, although not a determining factor.

8834

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POLITICAL

TURKEY

# NATION URGED TO LEARN FROM U.S.-EEC PROTECTIONIST BATTLE

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 3 Apr 86 p 1

[Editorial: "Protectionist Battles Among Major Economic Powers"]

[Text] The restrictions imposed by the EEC on some U.S. exports to Spain and Portugal is about to trigger an interesting conflict between major industrial nations. One aspect of the conflict that has been forcing the sides to impose trade quotas and to retaliate against each other with similar measures is the dispute over the overproduction of agricultural products. The EEC desire to protect the markets of Spain and Portugal, which recently joined the EEC, against U.S. competition and the U.S. insistence on not letting those markets to go under EEC hegemony underscore the gravity of the problem.

This dispute between the United States and the EEC, which is composed of all of Western Europe, can teach certain lessons to Turkey which has received similar blows from both sides. The attitude to be taken toward this dispute may be one of "watching the fight with gratification" or perhaps "enjoy the secret satisfaction of a feeling of revenge." However, that would only be superficial. The issue that must be understood by Turkey is that the causes of protectionism today are not simply "the caprices of large economic powers toward small powers like Turkey."

For example, the dramatic trade and economic restrictions imposed on Turkey by the two sides battling each other now are a clear indication of how sensitive both the EEC and the United States are on destinies of their economies. Turkey has been working for years to gain entry as a full member into the EEC and has established important practical and legal links with that organization. Even so, however, Turkey has been hindered by the EEC not only in textile exports but also on broader economic interests and rights gained through agreements. Turkey has not been spared a similarly damaging situation vis a vis the United States.

In the face of a growing number of measures by major Western industrialized countries to protect their economies, Turkey is trying to move in the opposite direction. As underscored by the dispute between the EEC and the United States, both sides are trying to protect their agricultural sectors, which have been weakened by overproduction, against damaging competition from the other side. They can also institute similar policies with regard to industrial products on other pretexts. This is their most natural right.

However, in the face of pressures and restrictions by the same two sides against this country, Turkey is not doing what is necessary and is instead pursuing an effort which has not produced satisfactory results. On the "advice" of free market giants like the United States and the EEC it has eliminated all types of protection for its economy opening up hunting grounds for the giants with the dream of winning a greater share of the international economic pie.

If the contradiction which has given rise to the growing protectionist battle between the United States and the EEC is evaluated correctly, one can see more clearly the traps set by recipes of "economies free of any conditions and hindrances" prepared by the developed Western countries for developing countries.

9588

CSO: 3554/34

POLITICAL

TURKEY

# POLITICAL PLURALISM SEEN ESSENTIAL FOR DEMOCRACY

Istanbul GUNAYDIN 15 Apr 86 p 3

["Cooking Pot" column by Necati Zincirkiran: "Normalization"]

[Text] The time has come for everyone to understand that politics cannot be controlled by the use of force and the imposition of bans. Time has been rectifying every mistake that has been made in its turn. Slow as it is, time has been eliminating injustices.

We can describe this process as "normalization." This is what is happening in Turkey today. Normalization is in a sense the lifting of the lien placed on democracy. We hope that this process is completed without harming the democracy of the Turkish Republic.

The 12 September operation saved the Turkish democracy and the Turkish state. It restored the security of life and property which was lost as a result of widespread anarchy and civil war. It put the economy back on its track and followed that up with general elections in November 1983.

Mistakes are always made in transitions from military regimes to democracy. This should be considered normal. What was not normal in Turkey was that elections were not held. The military leaders of the 12 September operation, and particularly Gen Kenan Evren, kept every promise they made and restored parliamentary democracy in Turkey before the deadline they had set for themselves. We can have nothing but words of thanks for them.

No one can claim that the Assembly created by the 1983 elections fully reflected all the political aspirations of the nation. Had that been so, today we would not have a normalization process. Obviously, some things were missing; the realization of some things were made impossible. Today those things are being realized.

The Social Democratic Populist Party of Inonu and Gurkan, the Democratic Left Party of the Ecebits, the new party to be formed by Yazar—who has parachuted into politics—and maybe a fourth party are having their own groups in the Assembly, even if unofficially.

This is a very important phase for the future of democracy. Because democracy is a pluralist system. The wider we make our political spectrum, the healthier we will be from a standpoint of democracy. Let us not be afraid, this can never hurt us.

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POLITICAL

TURKEY

## NDP DISSOLUTION SETS OFF INVITATIONS FOR DEFECTORS

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 15 Apr 86 pp 1,9

[Report by Ceyhan Altinyelek]

[Text] Ankara—Immediately after the accord between Mehmet Yazar and [Nationalist Democracy Party leader] Ulku Soylemezoglu to unite their forces on the right, the popularity of the Nationalist Democracy Party [NDP] and its deputies in the Assembly rose in the political arena, and an "open door policy" was initiated in politics. Officials of virtually every party indicated that the doors of their party are open to NDP deputies.

Correct Way Party [CWP] leader Husamettin Cindoruk's announcement that his party's doors are open to NDP deputies drew the comment: "He has issued invitations to NDP members he accused of being revolutionary guards only yesterday."

### 'Appeal to The People'

Responding to the TERCUMAN correspondent's questions on the issue, NDP leader Soylemezoglu said that they decided "to form the new alignment without insulting anyone on the right, without burning any bridges, using a soft approach and only by appealing to the people." He continued:

"For this reason we do not want to engage in a damaging duel of words with any individual or group. Because we have a national obligation before us. While executing that obligation we will walk on our path with determination no matter what is said to us. We saw in the past the disillusionment of those who sowed division and destruction. Those who did not accept our legitimacy when we previously extended our hand to unite the right have nothing to say to us today. We would like our noble people to make their own judgement about those who described us as revolutionary guards in the past and who have announced that their party's doors are open to our deputies whom they called revolutionary guards."

### 'Our Doors and Our Arms'

Stating that their party's "door was opened not now but a long time ago," CWP deputy leader Mehmet Golhan said: "On the issue of merging with NDP, today we are saying the same thing we were saying when we first sat at the negotiating table. The CWP's doors and arms are open to anyone who shares its beliefs and philosophy."

Stating that they have always considered NDP members close to themselves, Golhan said that his party "is acting cautiously because they are concerned that individual deputy defections into the CWP may overshadow negotiations to be held for a total merger with the NDP in accordance with Article 84 of the Constitution." He continued:

"However, today it appears that NDP leader Ulku Soylemezoglu was not sincere when he sat at the negotiating table with us. Although we proposed every possible formula to him, he persistently--or even stubbornly--proposed the merger of CWP with the NDP and did not agree to any other alternatives. That means that even then he was in contact with certain circles."

'There Are Revolutionary Guards, But Who Are They?'

When we recalled that "only two months ago your party leader described NDP members as revolutionary guards," Golhan replied:

"Yes, there were revolutionary guards among them. We do not mean all of them. An interview between Memduh Yasa and Soylemezoglu on the Provisional Article 4 of the Constitution was carried in the press. In one of his responses Soylemezoglu said: 'That will not please them upstairs.' Would you expect such a remark from a courageous and independent-minded party leader who sincerely believes in the unity of the right?"

When asked whether that means that "Soylemezoglu is the revolutionary guard," Golhan smiled and replied: "No comment."

'Not Belief But Panic'

In response to our question on "open door politics," Mehmet Yazar first said: "You see what is happening and what they are saying?" He continued:

"No one can in any way or in any manner influence the beliefs and the consciences of our valuable NDP deputy colleagues who sincerely believe in a genuine unity of the right. It is sad that those who run counter to the wishes of the people are taking attitudes without any basis of belief in their current state of panic."

Motherland Party's Doors Also Open

Responding to the TERCUMAN correspondent's questions on the same issue, Motherland Party [MP] Secretary General Alpaslan Pehlivanli said: "As the Prime Minister stated following our party's most recent executive council meeting, the MP's doors are always open to anyone who shares our principles."

Stating that he believes that "10 to 15 of the NDP deputies will defect to MP," Pehlivanli said: "We would be happy to see them among us."

'Did They Merge with the Revolution?'

On the issue of "revolutionary guards," Pehlivanli said:

"I do not think that any of our colleagues in the NDP will join those who described them as revolutionary guards only yesterday. What I do not understand is this: Is Cindoruk withdrawing his remarks on 'revolutionary guards' or is he joining hands with the revolution?"

Pehlivanli said that the unification of the right can take place only under the auspices of the MP and that any other alignment would serve no other purpose than dividing the right.

9588

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POLITICAL

TURKEY

# EVREN SEEN AS SOLE DEFENDER OF 1982 CONSTITUTION

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 15 Apr 86 pp 1,10

["The Truth Inside Events" column: "Evren's Speeches"]

[Text] President Evren spoke to a large audience at the government square in Trabzon. As always, the speech was reported on television at length and in detail. As the reporters determined and as shown on television screens, there was a large number students in the square. Schoolchildren were made to stand in the square to listen to the president.

The main headings of Mr Evren's speech were briefly as follows: 1) Poking at the presidency may cause harm. The person who has been brought to the highest office in the country must be shown respect. 2) Certain people have blamed Mr Evren for the decision to cancel a meeting regional bar associations in Bursa wanted to convene. 3) Certain circles have been persisting on rumors of torture. The aim of these rumors is to weaken the police. The president, on the other hand, has determined that since 1978 only 0.17 percent of convicted policemen have been convicted or tried for torture. 4) In addition to rumors about torture, there were also rumors of amnesty. These rumors were effective; anarchists were freed from prisons by the Execution Law. 5) There are people who are trying to change the Constitution. However, this Constitution was prepared by the Consultative Assembly and not by Evren and his colleagues. 6) Measures designed to prevent any assassination attempts against the president are normal. This is why roads where the president travels are blocked. "If they come and run into the president's car and cause an incident by blowing it up as they do in other countries will our reporter friend who complained that roads are blocked be happy?" 7) President Evren cannot be elected for a second term. That is what the Constitution says. In any case he does not want to be elected for a second term.

The president may have felt the need to make the speech we summarized above. The people are naturally entitled to gather at the government square in Trabzon and listen to his speech. But the fact that students were brought en masse to the square is not an act that can be approved.

In Mr Evren's speeches, the principle of the president's impartiality is frequently overshadowed. This is one aspect of the issue. However, we believe that the massive presence of uniformed schoolchildren in all the provinces the president has visited stems from the excessive zeal of local officials.

We believe that Mr Evren would be the first to oppose the involvement of young students in political debates. A president who defends the idea that even mature people in associations and labor unions should not participate in politics would naturally oppose the injection of politics into middle schools.

Should not governorships henceforth be more careful on this issue and should not the office of the president caution the pertinent authorities?

Meanwhile, in Rize, another stop in the president's Black Sea tour, Mr Evren made statements with regard to the 1982 Constitution. The president believes that democratic conditions were in effect at the time of the preparation and ratification of the Constitution. Stating that "the Constitution is now presented as a document whose approval was forced," the president said: "Today there is no one left to defend these [viewpoints]. I am the only one left to defend this. Articles are continually being written against it, but Consultative Assembly members cannot come out to speak in favor of it and say 'we did it this way.' Because there is no longer a Consultative Assembly."

Mr Evren expects the press to "take on the burden of defending" the 1982 Constitution and claims that currently a "one-sided machinery" is in operation.

It is true that many people who appeared to be supporters of the administration that was set up after 12 September are now elsewhere. However, even though the Consultative Assembly has been dissolved its members are still alive. The parties that were established by 12 September are in the parliament. It is amidst this crowd that the president's loneliness sadly sticks out. Who is going to defend the 1982 Constitution either for its contents or for its methods? Is it easy to defend a constitution which shuts down political parties, which suppresses union rights, which restricts freedoms, which subjugates the universities to the Higher Education Council, which holds a lien on democracy, which wipes out the political rights of former politicians and leaders, which imposes negative criteria for judicial independence and which is itself self-contradictory? How can the president expect anyone to make such a sacrifice?

It will be particularly difficult to defend the way the 1982 Constitution was submitted to a referendum. In an environment where all political parties were closed down, a one-sided and high-pressure propaganda machinery was put into effect, and the constitution was approved with a "yes" vote of 91.5 percent in a balloting system where voting "no" was prohibited. The "one-sided machinery" that Mr Evren is today complaining about was put into operation in the referendum for the 1982 Constitution.

If Mr Evren is the only one today to defend the 1982 Constitution as the president claims, then what needs to be done is the drafting of a new constitution. After all, would not the attempt to prop up a constitution which no one defends be a forced imposition?

It appears that the 1982 Constitution is on the political agenda. If the people's understanding, knowledge and expectations of democracy go beyond this constitution, then that is a good thing. Should we not be happy for that?



POLITICAL

TURKEY

# SYRIAN 'MOTIVES' ON HATAY REPORTED

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 15 Apr 86 pp 21,23

[Report by Celalettin Cetin]

[Text] Our southern neighbor Syria, which has been dreaming about Hatay day and night and which has never forgotten the province of Hatay, has revealed a new initiative designed to gain supporters and friends for itself. As stated in a previous HURRIYET report entitled "Watch Harran," this neighboring country provided financial assistance to some Turkish peasants in the Harran Plain who speak Arabic and no Turkish to help them buy land. Our research last week in and around Antakya revealed that this assistance has expanded to other areas. For example, in addition to children from Konya, Urfa and Diyarbakir who go to Syria to receive religious education, there are Turkish young men and women who study in Syrian universities for free and who receive a monthly salary of 270 Syrian pounds.

M.D., an Antakya businessman who travels to Syria virtually every 15 days, stated that Syrian universities have a special quota for Turkish youths who want to study there. He added:

"My family is there. That is why I travel there frequently. I go there for business purposes. What I have noticed is that they want us to travel there freely and they want to travel here freely. They also want our young men and women to go and study in their universities. They do not charge them tuition, and they pay them a salary on the top of that. I do not know what their motive is. As far as I know there are Turkish youths studying in their universities. If a hundred or thousand more youths apply, they are going to admit them."

'Not One Person Would Want Syria'

Several Antakya intellectuals who commented on these moves by Syria--namely, financial assistance to landless peasants to help them buy land, religious education for our children in their country and quotas for Turkish youths in their universities--described them as "political and ideological investments." They said: "These are investments to win supporters."

The expected answer to this country which harbors certain mysterious motives is given by the residents of Antakya, Samandag and Reyhan. For example, Dr Alaeddin Cilli, a member of one of the oldest families in Samandag says:

"Here, there are no supporters of Hafiz al-Assad. If there are, they are very few; they would not exceed 10 percent of the population. But as residents of Samandag we do not have a single person among us who wants Syria. We are Turkish citizens. We are proud to be Turkish."

Meanwhile, Antakya Mayor Sami Oytun said that the Syrian government has nationalized thousands of donums of Turkish-owned land in Syria. He continued:

"As you know, after the integration of Hatay with the motherland some land that belonged to us remained over there and some land that belonged to them remained over here, in the Amik Plain, in accordance with the terms of the agreement. Thinking that there may be a settlement agreement in the future we rented their land to landless peasants. The money that we collected for this land, which we rented for 1,000 Turkish liras per donum per year, was deposited in a fund administered by the Ministry of Finance. The money that has accrued so far amounts to 54 million Turkish liras. In return for our good will, we learned that they have nationalized 30 percent of 272,000 donums of Turkish-owned land in Syria. Perhaps this trend will continue. But despite everything, we have taken all necessary measures to counter such tricks on their part."

Stating that problems have occasionally arisen between the two countries and that, however, no agreement has ever been reached over those problems, Oytun said: "What they want is: Let them come here freely and let our people go there freely. But this is a sensitive issue, and we do not want that."

#### Hatay Supposedly to Become Theirs

The issue of "travel" referred to by Mayor Oytun comes up at different levels. For example, Samandag businessman Abdulvahid Eris who takes a truly patriotic approach to the issue pointed to one of their most major motives while telling us about an incident that happened to him while he was in Syria:

"I was in Damascus 3 years ago. I parked my car in front of the government palace thinking that that would be a safe place. When I returned after touring the market I found that my car was gone. I called the police, and they said that they had towed the car outside of the city. I asked them why they did that, and they replied: 'What if it contains explosives?' To cut the story short, they eventually brought back my car but charged 1,700 Syrian pounds in fines. I went to the police headquarters to pay the fine. There, a map hanging over the police chief's desk showed Hatay as part of Syria. I speak, read and write Arabic better than most them do. So I asked the police chief why the map was that way. He replied: 'Hatay is ours; it will be ours.' I asked: 'On what basis are you saying that? Hatay is like our right eye.' He laughed and said: 'We have preparations on this issue. Furthermore, you made the agreement with the French and not with us. One way or the other it is ours. Hatay will become ours.' As our debate proceeded, the man spilled out other beans. He said that they are bringing Turkish children from Konya, Urfa and Diyarbakir to Syria to teach them religion. He said that most of them are brought from Konya. He also said that they are not charged any tuition."

## Forced to Watch Syrian Television

The expanse of farmland in Samandag is mind-boggling. The production of fresh fruit and vegetables has assumed very advanced proportions in Samandag. Everyone including women, girls, the young and the old work at an indescribable pace. As a result, none of them are slaves of the landowner. All of them have at least 5 or 10 donums of land to work on.

The people of this district, which shares a coastal border with Syria, have a major problem: Because the Turkish television transmitter for the region frequently breaks down they cannot watch TRT's television programs. As a result many households are reportedly forced to watch Syrian television programs.

Last month, the Syrian Prime Minister visited our country but none of the reported "verbal" agreements reached could be put down in writing. The residents of Antakya report that the Syrian Prime Minister's singlemost problem was their shortage of water, that is their need to use the waters of our Euphrates. But these residents state that the other side of the coin is that the waters of the Asi River which flows from Syria into this region are completely cut in the summer.

The Asi River springs from Lebanon, passes through Syria and our Amik Plain and runs into the sea in the Samandag district. In response to a question on the Asi River, Antakya Mayor Oytun said:

"The Asi River is not included in our irrigation plans. Peasants in the Amik Plain sometimes use that river's waters, but that is all. The main irrigation water will come from the Tahtakopru Dam that is being built. Water to be stored at this dam, which will be completed in 1988, will also irrigate the Amik Plain. When that project is completed they can cut off the waters of the Asi River completely if they wish."

## Hatay Belongs to Them on Syrian Television

Another problem in this region is related to the lands rented to the peasants. Today there are 70,000 donums of Syrian-owned land in the Amik Plain. These lands are rented out to peasants in 10-donum parcels. Some peasants complained about some of the intrigues involved in these procedures. For example, we were told about a village head who collected 5,000 Turkish liras from each of nearly 1,000 families and who split the money with the property administrator. Eventually, both were arrested (this incident was later confirmed by the authorities). Other peasants told us about pressures from regional tribes in this race of grabbing land and explained an unknown aspect of the issue:

"Among those who rent the land, there are those who are rich and those who are poor. There are even people who have made agreements with the Syrian landowners, who have become their proxies here and who have thus started managing the property as partners."

The last night we spent in the hotel in Antakya we witnessed a new move by our southern neighbor. A map obtained by a HURRIYET correspondent some time ago

in Berlin showed Hatay as being within the borders of Syria. At that time, the HURRIYET correspondent showed the map to the Syrian Prime Minister in Istanbul. Some residents of Antakya who are aware of this situation made us watch Syrian television that night. We watched it and we found out that the same game is being played on television. While broadcasting the weather report the map in the background showed Hatay as being within the Syrian borders. It was quite unbelievable, but we saw the truth with our own eyes.

In conclusion, various intrigues involving land, similar to those in Harran, are also being staged in this area which is described by Antakya's mayor as a "sensitive region." But above and beyond this it is now clear that Syria has secret designs and motives with regard to Hatay.

9588

CSO: 3554/34

POLITICAL

TURKEY

BRIEFS

**IRAQI SHOOTING NEAR BORDER** --Mardin--Iraqi units fired on aircraft which reportedly bombed Iraqi positions across from the Habur border crossing point near the Silopi district of Mardin. During the exchange, anti-aircraft shells reached the Turkish customs inspection area. In a statement on the incident, Mardin Governor Alaattin Turan said that the incident occurred at 6:00 am yesterday morning. He added: "Unidentified warplanes fired on Iraqi positions located across from the Habur border crossing point. The Iraqis responded with anti-aircraft fire. Radars could not determine whether the warplanes crossed Turkish borders because the planes were flying at low altitude. Anti-aircraft shells were later found in the customs inspection area. In our initial contacts with the Iraqi side we have not been able to obtain any information about the nationality of the warplanes. The Iraqi officials said that 'they were enemy planes and they fired.' We have also heard that in the Aktepe village of Silopi a woman was wounded in her arm. We do not know for certain whether the woman was hurt because she fell as a result of her fear of warplane noise or as a result of a stray bullet." [Text] [Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 15 Apr 86 p 9] 9588

**OZAL REBUTTED ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**--Former Defense and Foreign Minister Hasan Esat Isik criticized Prime Minister Turgut Ozal's remarks in New Delhi two days ago to the effect that "the Cyprus and the Aegean problems must not mortgage Turkey's foreign policy." Isik said: "Governments must be more concerned about pursuing national interests than trying to assert that the policies they are pursuing are correct." He continued: "We are not the ones who have mortgaged our foreign relations on the Aegean and Cyprus. Obviously, our foreign policy cannot consist solely of defending our rights and responsibilities in the Aegean and Cyprus. But we cannot abandon them either." Isik added: "Furthermore, the Aegean and Cyprus problems are issues that are rather related to our allies. There is absolutely no need to neglect these problems or to make concessions on these problems in order to develop our relations with countries outside the [NATO] alliance. If Prime Minister Ozal believes that we must ignore some things on the Aegean, Cyprus and Armenian issues in order to continue our defense and economic cooperation with our allies, it is impossible to share that belief. In any case, if we take that path our defense or economy will not be guaranteed; we will simply become sentries or guerrillas for others' security. There was no need for such a statement especially at a time when the UN Secretary General has put forth new proposals." [Excerpt] [Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 15 Apr 86 p 10] 9588

CSO: 3554/30



MILITARY

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

## DIVISION ARTILLERY OBSERVATION BATTALION STRUCTURE ELABORATED

Herford KAMPFTRUPPEN/KAMPUNTERSTUETZUNGSTRUPPEN in German Mar 86 pp 60-62

[Article by Hiss von Selle: "The Division Observation Battalion"]

[Text] I. The Reconnaissance Possibilities of the Observation Battalion

### 1. Mission and Structure of the Battalion

The observation battalion of the division has different technical reconnaissance resources. With these resources, targets are detected essentially for the general firefight and information on the enemy is procured for the situation assesement.

The individual tasks:

--Target location, primarily enemy artillery,

--Reconnaissance of enemy forces in the depth, including marshaling of reserves and the approach of the following echelons (reconnaissance depth to 60 km),

--Battlefield surveillance,

--Drafting and preparation of ballistic and other weather reports.

### 2. The Sound-Ranging Battery

The tasks of the sound-ranging battery are

--target location against firing enemy tube artillery,

--adjusting fire of own artillery and

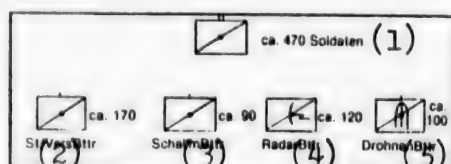
--battlefield surveillance in the area of the early warners.

This reconnaissance resource is the most important for tube artillery reconnaissance and is especially important with the enemy's superior artillery.

The battery and the sound-ranging platoon occupy four to six measuring points, one to two early warning stations and an evaluation point directly behind the VRV [forward edge of battle area]. The survey platoon must survey the measuring points accurately to within plus or minus 3 meters, that is, the preparation of the measuring field requires about 3 hours.

Position finding through sound is no longer possible when the wind speed exceeds 8 meters per second.

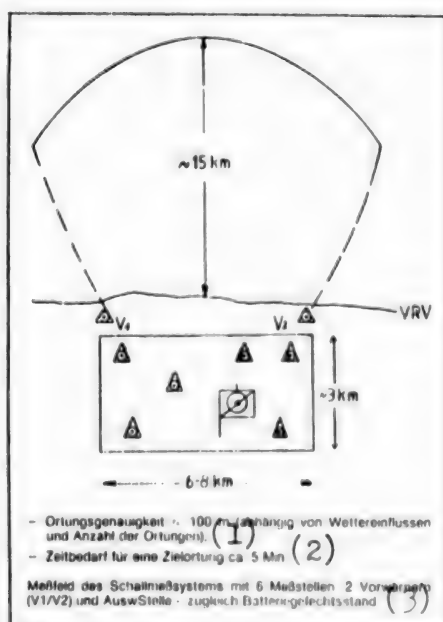
Figure 1.



**Key:**

1. About 470 soldiers
2. St/Vers battery
3. Sound-ranging battery
4. Radar battery
5. Drone battery

Figure 2.



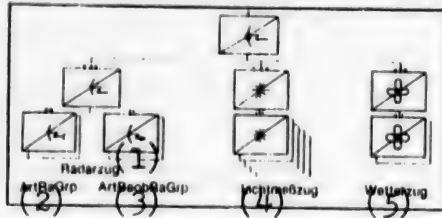
**Key:**

1. Detection accuracy within 100 meters (dependent upon weather factors and the number of position findings)
2. Time requirement for a target location about 5 minutes
3. Measuring field of sound-ranging system with six measuring points, two early warners (V1/V2 and evaluation point--also battery command post.

### 3. The Radar Battery

At the present time, the radar battery--along with the meteorological platoon--is still equipped with three different reconnaissance resources:

Figure 3.



**Key:**

1. Radar platoon
2. Artillery radar groups
3. Artillery surveillance radar groups
4. Flash-ranging platoon
5. Meteorological platoon

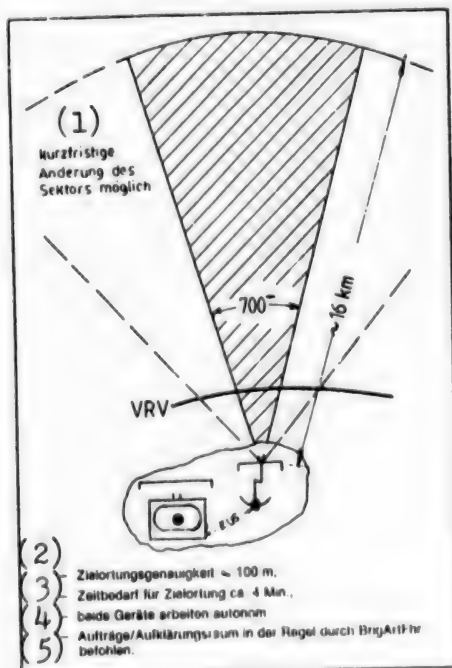
a) The artillery radar groups locate enemy firing mortars and multiple rocket launchers, to a limited extent howitzers as well. (figure upper right)

b) The artillery surveillance radar groups will belong to the surveillance battalion for only a short time. With their reorganization into the artillery structure 85 (1986/87), they will be detached to the brigade artillery battalions. They carry on battlefield surveillance, locate targets, and adjust fire. (figure bottom right)

This reconnaissance resource becomes especially significant at night and under poor visibility, where as a rule it provides the only reconnaissance results for the brigade at such a great depth.

c) The flash-ranging platoon locates enemy firing tube artillery--especially at night--and multiple rocket launchers, adjusts fire and carries on battlefield surveillance.

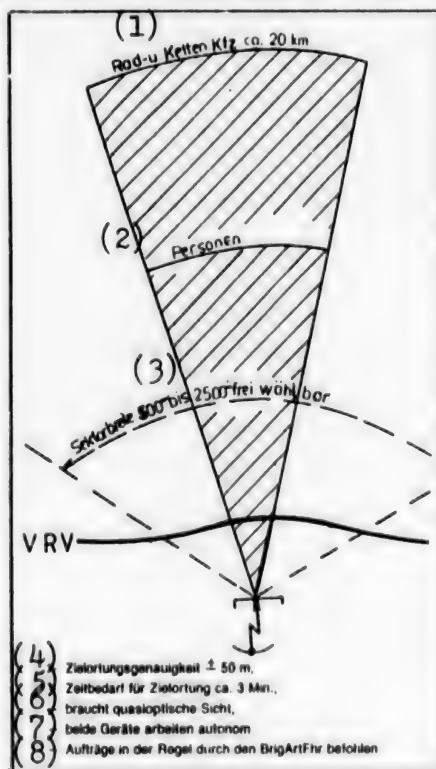
Figure 4.



**Key:**

1. Short-term change in the sector is possible.
2. Target-location accuracy within 100 meters
3. Time requirement for target location about 4 minutes
4. Both devices work autonomously.
5. As a rule, missions/reconnaissance area ordered by brigade artillery commander.

Figure 5.



**Key:**

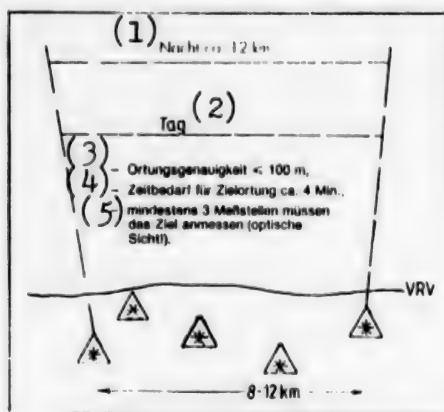
1. Wheeled and tracked vehicles about 20 kilometers
2. Persons
3. Sector width 500 to 2,500 meters freely discretionary
4. Target location accuracy within plus or minus 50 meters
5. Time requirement for target location about 3 minutes
6. Requires line-of-sight coverage
7. Both devices work autonomously
8. As a rule, missions ordered by the brigade artillery commander

For this, the platoon has five flash-ranging points, equipped with M 113 armored personnel carriers, and an evaluation point that is likewise a battery command post.

d) The meteorological platoon ascertains the necessary weather data to an altitude of about 12 kilometers for the entire firing artillery of the division, the sound ranging and the drone operations and disseminates the ballistic weather reports for this. In addition, weather data can be forwarded for the army aviators and the NBC and air defense units.

- time requirement to produce a weather report = about 30 minutes,
- period of validity = 2 hours,
- Both meteorological groups can work autonomously.

Figure 6.



Key:

1. Night about 12 kilometers
2. Day
3. Location accuracy within 100 meters
4. Time requirement for target location about 4 minutes
5. At least 3 measuring points must measure the target (visible range!)

4. The Drone Battery CL 89

Tasks of the drone battery are:

- situation reconnaissance and target reconnaissance with aerial photographs in the area of responsibility of the division and
- target location for the artillery.

This reconnaissance resource gives the troop commander reconnaissance results in the depth, primarily marshaling activities and the approach of the following echelons. For this, there are two start groups each with one launcher and two landing forces available. Operational planning and evaluation of the films occurs in the mission control and evaluation platoon--also battery command post (see figure upper middle).

The following analyzable areas are reconnoitered with a drone flight:

At a flight altitude of 300 meters, an area of about 36 square kilometers, which doubles at a flight altitude of 600 meters.

The area is smaller when flash cartridges are used, whereas the use of infrared sensors leads to somewhat larger reconnaissance areas.

The high airspeed and the slight radar reflection render it more difficult for the enemy to locate and engage the drone. Since the missile cannot be

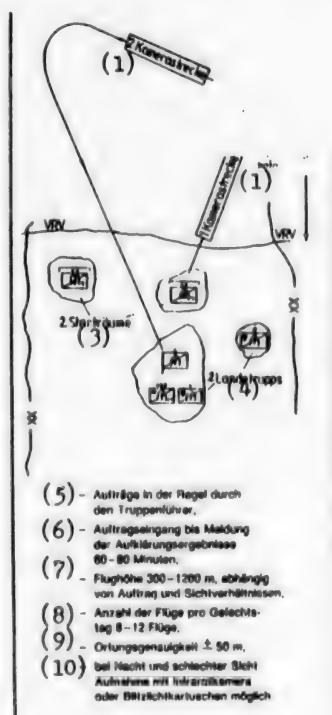


influenced during flight--up to the approach flight--it cannot be disturbed electronically.

The drone system CL 289 to be set up beginning in 1988 in various divisions and at the corps level produces the following substantial improvements in performance:

- greater penetration depth,
- image data transmission,
- improved navigation precision and
- no limitation in altitudes, curve changes and camera stretches.

Figure 7.



Key:

1. Camera stretch
2. Reconnaissance depth to about 65 kilometers
3. Launch areas
4. Landing troops
5. As a rule, assignments by the troop commander
6. 60 to 80 minutes from receipt of assignment to the report of the reconnaissance results
7. Flight altitude 300 to 1,200 meters depending upon the mission and visibility conditions
8. Number of flights per combat day = 8 to 12
9. Location accuracy within plus or minus 50 meters

10. Photographing with an infrared camera or flash cartridges possible at night and when visibility is poor

## II. Cooperation With the Combat Forces

### 1. Observation Artillery in the Area of the Combat Forces

The last diagram shows clearly how many elements of the observation artillery are employed in the area of the combat forces. In exercises with the entire force, commanders and company chiefs are absolutely astonished by who is "bustling about" in their combat sector--observation artillery in part in the front line.

a) Let us begin with the sound-ranging battery.

As many as six sound-ranging points are employed in a measuring field (4 km x 6 km), so that individual company commanders must accept one or two measuring points in their area.

These measuring points are located directly behind the front positions, must fulfill the most favorable conditions possible for "hearing" in selecting the position, and must--relatively time-consuming--be measured accurately to within plus or minus 3 meters. That is, in preparing the positions, a surveying group will work up to 2 hours in the area of the combat forces.

But the combat vehicle of the sound-ranging position, the "call station," can bivouac remotely in the vicinity of the measuring point, the microphone.

Even further forward--used like forward observers--are the two early warners with their two half-ton trucks. Because of the radio contact for switching on the sound-ranging system, their vehicles must bivouac in the immediately vicinity.

And finally, the battery command post--three 5-ton trucks and five smaller vehicles anyhow--is to be accommodated on the rear edge of the defense area of a line battalion.

b) Seven groups are also employed on the front line by the radar battery. The two artillery observation radar groups, just as the same equipment of the brigade artillery, are, if possible, employed on a height with a good view of enemy terrain. To be sure, the range of the equipment makes possible utilization more in the depth but still in the area of the combat forces. With its antenna tower extendable to 8 meters, this equipment can be "hidden" well in bushes or on the edge of the forest. A dismounted operation is not possible.

The flash-ranging platoon has five flash-ranging points. It is possible to employ one to three flash-ranging points in the area of a line battalion. They occupy the position as an advanced observer--mounted or dismounted--and require the corresponding observation points in the area of the combat forces. The flash-ranging points must also be surveyed (with an accuracy of plus or minus 10 meters) and that initially requires some movement in the neighborhood

of the measuring point. The other elements of the radar battery are generally employed behind the defense areas of the line battalion.

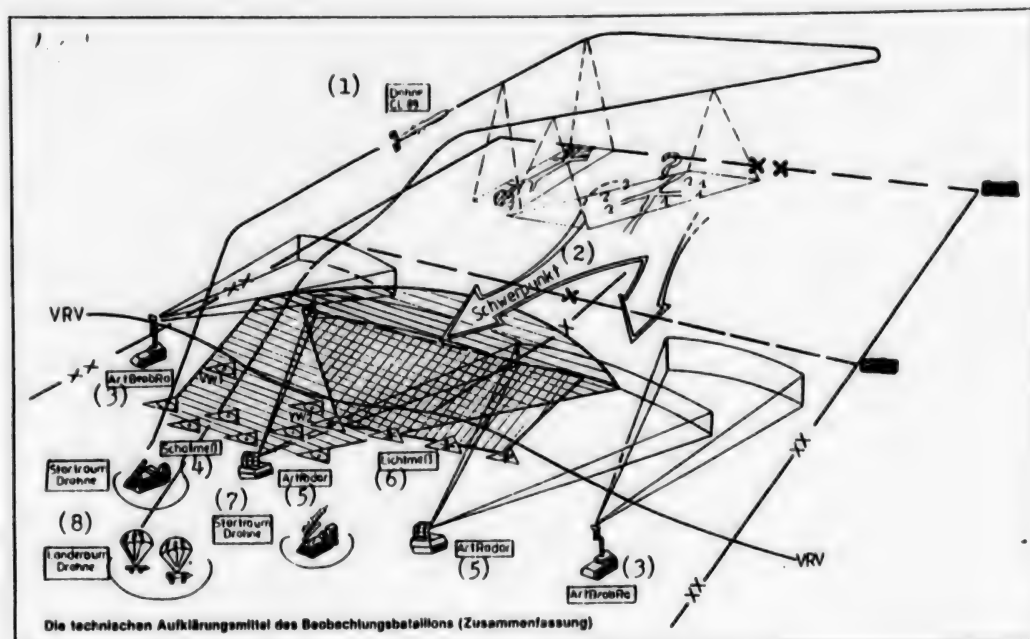


Figure 8. The Technical Reconnaissance Resources of the Observation Battalion (Summary)

Key:

1. Drone CL 89
2. Main effort
3. Artillery observation radar
4. Sound-ranging
5. Artillery radar
6. Flash-ranging
7. Drone launch area
8. Drone landing area

From the drone battery, to achieve a greater penetration depth, the drone launch area can be located in the rear part of the defense area of a battalion.

The launch area (1 km x 1 km) includes several takeoff points (= open areas of about 50 x 50 meters) that, as a rule, do not restrict the combat forces, and a service area, in which the launchers and two or three other vehicles can be bivouacked.

About 20 minutes are required from the arrival of the launcher at the takeoff point to the change of position after the drone launch, in which the launcher

could be subjected to possible attacks by enemy fighter bombers or attack helicopters.

## 2. Coordination With the Combat Forces

The battery commanders, platoon leaders and squad leaders establish contact with the command posts of the combat forces as soon as possible. In the case of the defense type of combat, however, that will be rather late, for the observation artillery is generally employed as a body even in delay.

The purpose of this contact:

- assimilation of the operational plan of the battalion/company,
- agreement on the practical location for the observation artillery,
- exchange of communications data,
- coordination of security and supply.

The commanders of the combat forces should take enough time for this coordination and above all consider the special terrain conditions for the selection of the location of the various reconnaissance resources. Only in this way can observation artillery be used practically and achieve the reconnaissance results that make possible an engagement by the firing artillery; only in this way can it give the combat forces current information on the enemy and largely keep the enemy artillery "off their backs."

9746

CSO: 3620/683

MILITARY

PORTUGAL

# ATLANTIC CONFRONTATION OPPOSES SOVIET, PORTUGUESE VESSELS

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 25 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] An incident involving a Portuguese corvette and a Soviet warship occurred in the Atlantic Ocean about 2 weeks ago, EXPRESSO has learned from sources in national defense circles.

The incident happened more than a hundred miles to the west of the Portuguese continental coast, and involved a series of shots fired by the ship from the USSR over the Portuguese vessel, which was engaged in surveillance of the Soviet vessel, a routine mission in that area, where various international maritime routes intersect. As a naval general staff source admitted, the Soviets may have fired the shots as a warning in the belief that the Portuguese corvette was too close.

News of the incident was transmitted immediately by the commander of the Portuguese ship to the general headquarters of NATO (under whose jurisdiction these Atlantic surveillance missions are carried out), and at the same time to the naval general staff. No other developments ensued, however, at the scene of the incident.

Both the Portuguese military authorities and the Ministry of Defense regard the case as closed. However, they have reacted differently. In fact, while a spokesman for the navy termed the episode "routine, something which occurs rather frequently and to which no importance is attributed," a representative of the Ministry of Defense told EXPRESSO that "In the current situation of international agitation, the publicizing of this incident does not serve the national interests."

EXPRESSO has also learned that the Soviet ambassador in Lisbon presented apologies for the incident, which are reported to have been accepted. The matter was discussed yesterday by Ribeiro de Almeida and his colleague in the foreign affairs sector, Pires de Miranda.

5157  
CSO:3542/97



MILITARY

PORTUGAL

# ROLE, EQUIPMENT OF AIR FORCE DISCUSSED

Lisbon 0 DIA in Portuguese 21 Apr 86 p 6

[Article by L.J.F.]

[Excerpts] Of the three armed forces branches, the Air Force is not only that most recently created, but also that which has the least operational experience in war situations.

It could be said that the FAP was, from 1961 into the 1970s, a branch dedicated to the support of the land forces and the development of activities in war zones (establishing communications routes, transporting goods and individuals, collaborating in medical emergency work, etc.). But Portugal was also a member nation of the Atlantic Alliance, and in this connection, the FAP structure, basically located on the European continent, had additional missions as well. A squadron (10 or so) P2V5 Neptunes (obtained through Holland) were assigned to maritime reconnaissance and antisubmarine surveillance and combat, and about 50 F 86 Sabres (of the American F model or the German MK 6 version) served as a pursuit and interception group. (The Sabres, built in the 1950s, began to be used overseas, but pressure from the "anticolonial" wing of NATO forced Portugal to limit their use to the Alliance framework alone. Equipped with AIM-9B FWG Model 2 Sidewinder missiles supplied by the FRG in the 1960s, the Sabre pursuit plane was much more of an interceptor aircraft than the single attack plane needed for the type of war waged in Africa.)

Today, the obsolescence of the FAP aircraft is beginning to be noted in various sectors (basic training and helicopters, for example), even bearing in mind that various types of aircraft totaling tens of units have been withdrawn from service or replaced since 1974. (Since that year, the aircraft removed from the FAP inventory includes the Sabres, the ten or fewer old B-26 Intruder and PV-2 Harpoon bombers, the Neptunes, the many dozens of ancient T-6 Harvard training planes (which were used in Africa on combat missions), the F 84 Thunderjet pursuit planes (25-30), the DO-27s, the Noratlas and Dakota transports, etc.). This reduction in aircraft in active service led to another type of problem. While in various areas the Air Force was left without specialized aircraft (for reconnaissance, interception, antisubmarine and antitank combat), the introduction of new models proceeded slowly, making interim solutions necessary (this was the case with the C-212s which had to be

used for photographic reconnaissance, the C-130s and SA-330s which doubled for maritime patrol, the G-91s and A-7Ps which carried out pursuit and interception missions, etc.). On the other hand, a number of the planes available are being cannibalized (like the FIATs) to keep operational groups airworthy.

#### Talk of the Future

With the change in the strategic coordinates, the operational framework of the Air Force also changed. It is being altered today to resemble the classic structure of the NATO forces more closely, but it continues to lag behind all of them (including Turkey) where equipment and modernization are concerned. Those who constantly criticize expenditures on the Air Force should reflect on this, as well as on the underutilization of the excellent potential of this branch (OGMA workshops, quality of the cadres of pilots and technicians, esprit de corps, etc.). During this week, we will discuss in detail the new complex of Air Force missions, as well as the plans drafted for reequipping and reorganizing the Air Force, remembering that the FAP is really not just a collection of airplanes, but a military corps with extensions on land, such as the parachute regiment and the air police. There are obvious consequences to this realization.

5157

CS0:3542/95

ECONOMIC

FINLAND

PAPER VIEWS 'PROJECT EXPORT' ALTERNATIVES IN USSR TRADE

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 20 Apr 86 p 2

[Editorial by Inger Jagerhorn: "Detours in Soviet Trade"; first paragraph is HUFVUDSTADSBLADET introduction]

[Text] Various ideas for correcting the threatened imbalance in trade between Finland and the Soviet Union have been presented one after the other. Inger Jagerhorn comments on them.

The fact that careful planning can actually create problems--since, after all, not everything can be planned for--is currently exemplified by our trade with the Soviet Union.

The volume of our petroleum imports from the Soviet Union is stipulated both in the 5-year plan and in the annual trade protocol. But not the price.

Estimates concerning the development of trade vary at the moment, depending on how one thinks the price of petroleum will change. But the latest--and gloomiest--forecast comes from industry, which guesses that by the end of this year, the situation will be such that annual trade will be 5 billion markkas below the level set forth in the plan.

Exports to the Soviet Union amounting to 5 billion markkas less than planned mean a big decline. People have rushed forward from many quarters with various proposed solutions.

The latest solution was presented at the end of last week when Yuriy Piskulov, chief of Western trade in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade, came up with a list of Soviet export goods that might compensate for the deficit brought on by lower oil prices. The package called for exports of Soviet aeronautical engineering, machinery, electrical installations, and natural gas.

One desire expressed on the Finnish side is to import various chemicals which Finnish industry would be happy to buy from the Soviet Union. But it does not seem altogether easy to bring about such exports, and there are two reasons. First, the production of chemicals is evidently so tightly controlled in the Soviet planned economy that a sudden increase in output is not at all simple

even if demand goes up. And second, those chemicals are exported to other markets in West Europe, where they are much sought after and where the Soviet Union therefore obtains equally sought-after foreign exchange earnings.

Another idea has been to raise the credit ceiling, which currently stands at 300 million rubles and is intended to offset temporary imbalances in trade. The assumption underlying the credit ceiling is precisely that an imbalance is temporary--and as is known, fluctuations have occurred in the past but have always evened themselves out eventually, so the idea is justified.

Lastly, some Finnish firms have made the best of it and, to avoid too great a drop in their export figures, have started seeking new export routes. One such route calls for shipping their exports through some other country.

Finnish construction firms, for example, which are among the most vulnerable firms because their foreign production is concentrated so heavily in the Soviet Union, have looked into the possibility of forming joint ventures with French construction firms.

Some other firms have sought sales channels through Sweden, since exports are then recorded as being not "Finnish" but "Swedish" and are paid for by the Soviet Union in foreign exchange. These exports fall completely outside the Soviet-Finnish bilateral trade system.

Detours are therefore being used, although on a very small scale--at least so far. Is this development good or bad?

For the individual firm, it cannot be anything but good. For the Finnish economy, it means that exports are ostensibly going to a country other than the country of final destination, but the same is also true of many other exports, of course. It cannot be "unpatriotic" activity, since using such a detour means avoiding an increase in the problematical imbalance in trade between our two countries.

For the Soviet Union, this "detour trade" means that it must pay out foreign exchange for goods which might previously have been cleared in rubles against Soviet goods. But on the other hand, some of the goods would otherwise not have been exported from Finland to the Soviet Union at all, while other goods would have been imported from another Western country instead, assuming that their importation was in fact worthwhile to the Soviet Union.

A possible disadvantage is that Finnish exports by way of another country may prevent an increase in offsetting exports to Finland. But that argument does not hold up in a situation where that very increase has shown itself to be so difficult to bring about.

What we must do now is study Piskulov's list closely to see if the 5-billion-markka surplus can be trimmed by 1 or 2 billion. Quite an achievement.

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CSO: 3650/194

ECONOMIC

FINLAND

## CONSTRUCTION FIRM ORGANIZATION: BIG DROP IN USSR PROJECTS

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 23 Apr 86 p 12

[Article by Patricia Winckelmann-Zilliacus]

[Text] Cutbacks in project exports to the Soviet Union will be extensive this year. The Finnish Association of Building Contractors believes that the export quota will drop by as much as 30 percent.

This means that the value of exports will drop from 1.15 billion markkas to just over 720 million markkas.

The special quota that was set up for the construction of residential villages in Siberia seems headed for the same fate.

Specifically, eight major projects were to be started this year.

"Unfortunately, we are so pessimistic that we believe that only two or maybe three will materialize this year," says Timo Myllys, export manager for the Association of Building Contractors.

The projects that may have the best prospects are Wartsila's diesel engine factory, Kondrov's papermill, and perhaps the Rakvere meat processing plant. The fourth project that might get underway this year involves rehabilitation of the Hotel Metropol in Moscow.

### Quota Almost Full

The big news in this year's trade exchange protocol was the special quota of 138 million rubles for the residential village in Kingisepp. It now appears that that quota will also be cut by 25 percent. Since project allotments totaling approximately 90 million rubles have already been assigned, there will not be much left in that quota.

The drop in oil prices has had a double effect on the project export industry, since the exports in question have been going to the Soviet Union or to petroleum-producing countries in the Middle East. All told, project exports totaled 2.3 billion markkas last year, including 1.3 billion markkas in



exports to the Soviet Union and 650 million markkas worth of projects for Saudi Arabia and Libya.

The decline in the export industry has meant big changes as far as employment in the construction industry is concerned.

There have been major shifts from the export construction industry to domestic construction, and several thousand people have had to leave the industry in recent years.

Timo Myllys says: "During the best years--in the early 1980's--2,000 people, most of them technicians, were working in the Middle East. That figure is now down to 300."

And 4,300 people, most of them construction workers, were working in the Soviet Union in 1983. Now there are 2,500.

#### Uncertain Future

The stagnation in the Soviet Union is not directly affecting the rest of big industry this year. But the prospects for next year are very uncertain, since no one knows what will happen to the price of petroleum.

"If we look at our trade figures, we see that there have been big variations, depending on when orders were delivered," says Kari Ketola, who is chief of Eastern trade for Rauma-Repola.

In 1985, Rauma-Repola's exports to the Soviet Union accounted for 30 percent of the firm's turnover, but this year they will provide barely 20 percent. Rauma-Repola's turnover in 1985 totaled almost 6 billion markkas.

Kari Ketola of Rauma-Repola says: "It is true that we are also noticing the existence of a period of stagnation as far as new orders are concerned. But it is hard to say what the reason is. It is partly because of the drop in oil prices, but it may also be due to organizational reforms in the management of foreign trade in the Soviet Union."

What Rauma-Repola is very actively engaged in is efforts to increase imports from the Soviet Union. Besides its imports of energy and chemicals, Rauma-Repola is the largest importer of Soviet goods. Its imports, which amount to about 280 million markkas, are divided equally between raw materials and machinery.

"We have hired a purchasing manager for our office in Moscow. He spends all his time looking for new import goods," says Kari Ketola.

Rauma-Repola has also set up brainstorming groups among the employees in its plants. Among other things, those groups have reported on how well Soviet machinery has operated and come up with ideas concerning service and maintenance.

Kari Ketola says: "Naturally, we are aware of our responsibility when it comes to increasing imports. But we are not a trade firm. The biggest efforts to increase imports must be channeled through the trade firms."

#### Role of Trade Firms Increasing

The trade firms also constitute the sector hoping and believing that it can substantially increase its imports from the Soviet Union.

"Reexports would be the best way of straightening out the import figures, of course," says Klaus Katara of the Finnish Association of Technical Traders.

What this means is that the trade firms would reexport Soviet goods to third countries. But several problems are associated with reexports. The Soviet Union naturally prefers direct exports, since the country is in great need of Western currency.

According to Klaus Katara, the technical wholesale trade should be in a good position to develop imports. The firms involved certainly know their own needs, but not those of others.

Trade firms such as Kaukomarkkinat, Thomesto, Starckjohann-Telko, and Machinery, to name only the largest, have only entered the picture seriously in recent years. Those firms which have begun importing in earnest and built up contacts are now endeavoring to extend their range of import goods. The firms are systematically going through their imports to determine which Western imports could be replaced with imports from the East.

But those measures are not going to have an effect on this year's import goods and quantities. The efforts in question will only be helpful in the long term.

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ECONOMY

NETHERLANDS

LUBBERS CALLS FOR 2 BILLION MORE GUILDERS IN BUDGET CUTS

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 24 Apr 86 p 3

[Report by socioeconomic editorial staff: "Lubbers: 2 Billion Additional Retrenchment in Formation--CDA Asks Purchasing Power Guarantee for '87"]

[Text] The Hague, 24 April--In the cabinet formation, aside from the 9.3 billion guilders in retrenchments and extra taxes the cabinet has already agreed upon, additional steps will have to be taken for another 2 billion guilders. With those, the financing deficit does not have to rise over 8 percent in 1987. The cabinet does not want to make pronouncements on what should be done after 1987.

Those were Prime Minister Lubbers' words yesterday during the debate in the second chamber on the budget note. In it, the cabinet continues to assume that the oil price will amount to 17.5 dollars per barrel in 1986, rising to 20 dollars in 1987 and to 22.5 dollars in the following years, with a dollar exchange rate of 2.70 guilders.

Lubbers emphasized that in the planned retrenchments on social security (1.2 billion guilders) the purchasing power for both civil servants and employees in government-subsidized areas [such as health care services] will be preserved at least in 1987. CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal] parliamentary group leader De Vries submitted a motion on this point in which that purchasing power guarantee is fixed for 1987. De Vries said that with his motion he wanted to foreclose criticism on the part of the PvdA [Labor Party]. In March, during the debate on the natural gas setbacks, the PvdA parliamentary group had in vain invited the CDA to submit such a motion.

Lubbers agreed with De Vries that the planned retrenchment of 600 million guilders on public health is "frankly a high amount." But he thinks that part of it can be found in the saving which is created in material expenditures in health care, due to lower energy prices amongst other reasons. However, he did not go into the extent of this boon.

Besides the currently planned decrease in the number of civil servants and those working in government-subsidized areas (600 million guilders), it should

be studied during the cabinet formation, according to Lubbers, whether the improvement of the labor conditions in this sector can be financed from a far-reaching decrease in personnel.

For the next 4 years the cabinet will stick to its premises that the financing deficit must be brought back to 5 percent in 1990 and that the pressure of taxes and premiums must not rise for civilians. But the planned increase in the BTW [value-added tax] can only be undone by an oil price higher than 60 guilders (that is equal to an oil price of 22.5 dollars per barrel and a dollar exchange rate of 2.70 guilders). And even then, it applies only to the increase in the high BTW rate and only to the extent the extra government revenues thus created allow it. A second possibility in that situation is the decrease of the wage- and income tax.

If the oil price doesn't reach the level of 60 guilders, a potential tax decrease will have to be financed from additional retrenchments. VVD [People's Party for Freedom and Democracy] parliamentary group leader Nijpels said he would then prefer a decrease of the wage- and income tax over a decrease of the BTW. He thinks that that choice should be brought up for discussion in the formation. In any event, the cabinet couples to a potential tax decrease the condition that the packet of measures for 1987 must be fully realized. Moreover one may not deviate from the planned reduction of the financing deficit to 5 percent in 1990; that is, in case there is time in the formation to discuss how this decrease should exactly take place.

CDA parliamentary group leader De Vries said he feared that the VVD is so eager to economize in order to be able to decrease taxes that shortly the people entitled to draw benefits will be the victims. The VVD denied that later in the debate. It too proved to be in support of preserving the purchasing power for the lowest incomes.

For the rest, the cabinet resists the setting by law of the temporary BTW increase. The VVD had asked for that. Minister Ruding (finance) said he was only willing to go as far as a "very firm and solid" wording in the explanatory statement with the bill which is to regulate the BTW increase. In his view, the size, time and nature of the potential decrease of the tax cannot be set in advanced.

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ECONOMIC

PORTUGAL

# LABOR MEASURES CAUSE RISE IN AVERAGE WAGE SCALE

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 21 Apr 86 p 5

[Text] Collective bargaining in 1985 led to an average annual wage increase of 21.6 percent for the state sector and 20.4 percent for the private sector. This yields an average annual wage increase of 20.6 percent, according to a study by the Office Workers Trade Union Federation (FETESE).

Considering simple wage increases, not annually adjusted, the average increase was 21.9 percent, with 21.8 percent for the state business sector (SEE) and 21 percent for the private sector.

The FETESE reported that the average annual increase for contractual wages went up from 18.9 percent in 1984 to 20.6 percent in 1985.

The FETESE study shows that 89.5 percent of the documents on collective labor settlements published in 1985 were effective for a period of no more than 12 months, showing an improvement over last year.

The average effective period of bargaining agreements published last year was 12.8 months, covering an average of 12.1 months for the state business sector and 12.9 months for the private sector.

In connection with the wage demands in the bargaining in which it participated, the FETESE reported that the average increase claimed for the private sector was 27.9 percent, with 26.4 percent for the public sector, yielding an overall average of 27.7 percent.

Based on analysis of the figures published in the labor and employment bulletins of the Ministry of Labor, the FETESE reported that there were 636 labor settlement documents published in 1985, of which 420 covered negotiated settlements, 202 were extension orders and 14 were labor regulation directives.

The FETESE was involved in 103 of the collective agreements and contracts out of the 420 published.

The trade union federation emphasized that the publication of collective labor settlement documents in 1985 was up 16 percent over the preceding year.



The FETESE reported that the average duration of negotiation processes in 1985 was 103.4 days, representing an improvement over the preceding year (120 days) but also a deterioration as compared to 1982 (97 days) and 1983 (96 days).

The improvement in comparison to 1984 was due to the shorter duration of negotiations in the private sector (102.1 days in 1985), which was, however, a longer period than those reported for 1982 and 1983.

In the state business sector, an increase in the duration of negotiations was seen in 1985 (123.5 days), as compared to the 3 preceding years: 115 days for 1982, 101 for 1983 and 106 for 1984.

The FETESE reported that the duration of conciliation proceedings was 58 days in 1982, 36 in 1983, 59 in 1984 and 43 in 1985.

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ECONOMIC

PORTUGAL

# 1985 REMITTANCES FROM IMMIGRANTS SHOW INCREASE

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 24 Apr 86 p 5

[Text] In the first 11 months of 1985, Portuguese immigrants sent back remittances in the amount of 315.2 million contos, up 10.8 percent over the comparable period in 1984, according to Bank of Portugal figures.

Remittances were substantially the same in the first 11 months of 1985 as those received during 1984 as a whole, when they came to a total of 316.7 million contos.

Portuguese immigrants in the OECD countries sent back savings totaling 208.7 million contos, while the figure for those in the United States and Canada was 66.7 million contos and that for the rest of the world 29.8 million.

In the month of November, remittances totaled 30.3 million contos, more than the 25.9 million sent in that month in 1984.

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ECONOMIC

TURKEY

BRIEFS

JOINT USSR ECONOMIC PROTOCOL--Ankara--The Council of Ministers has approved the protocol signed at the 14 February 1986 meeting of the Turkish-Soviet Joint Economic Cooperation Commission. According to the protocol, which was published in yesterday's edition of the Official Gazette, it has been decided to complete in 1986 the previously begun contacts and work with regard to the buying and selling of goods and the acceleration of joint projects currently under way in view of the important role they will play in increasing economic and trade cooperation between Turkey and the Soviet Union. According to the protocol it has been decided to recommend that the two countries speedily complete talks on the signing of an agreement regarding the consulting and engineering services to be performed by relevant firms in connection with the construction and operation of the gas pipeline to be built in Turkey for Soviet natural gas exports to Turkey. The protocol stipulates that in accordance with the natural gas accord signed in 1984, the Soviet side will use 65 to 70 percent of its foreign exchange earnings from natural gas sales to Turkey during the first 3 years for buying Turkish export products. [Text] [Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 15 Apr 86 pp 1,11] 9588

TRAINING COURSE GRADUATES EMPLOYED--The first graduates of the training courses developed by the Ozal government as a solution to the unemployment problem have begun working. Twenty-six young men and women will work as semi-skilled workers in various factories and will be paid the minimum wage. Stating that only 1 1/2 months ago they were unemployed, the youths expressed their happiness at having both a profession and a job and said: "We hope that more of our colleagues will take advantage of this system." The first graduates of the training courses which were organized at public training centers and which were coordinated by Minister of State Mustafa Tinaz Titiz were delivered by the Bakirkoy Public Training Center. The students completed four or five-week training courses in the Karbosan Sandpaper Factory and the Konektas, Pepsi-Cola and Fruko factories and began work in the same factories. The graduates said: "We did not believe that we could have a profession and a job in such a short span of time. But as the days passed and the official employment formalities were completed we realized that we had real jobs." Istanbul Public Training Center Director Ahmet Akyuz said that training courses are being expanded and added: "We are tailoring our courses according to the needs of the employers. The goal of these courses is to make everyone who completes the course an employed person. This week 26 young men and women completed four and five-week courses and began work. Next week 60 more graduates will begin work." [Text] [Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 15 Apr 86 p 3] 9588

CSO: 3554/30

ENERGY

TURKEY

# 'NET-BACK' OIL PURCHASE ACCORD REACHED WITH ALGERIA

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 3 Apr 86 pp 1,11

[Text] Ankara—A new step has been taken in the work to procure low-cost crude oil. After lengthy negotiations Turkey has persuaded Algeria on the "net-back" method of crude oil pricing.

Minister of State Kazim Oksay said in a statement that agreement has been reached with Algeria on the adoption of the "net-back" method in oil purchases from that country, similar to previous agreements reached with Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union. He added that the accord on the issue will be signed in the coming days.

Oksay said that this year Turkey will buy around 600,000 metric tons of crude oil from Algeria.

In the "net-back" system, the purchase price of crude oil is determined by subtracting various cost factors on the basis of the price of processed oil products in Italy. Since there is no predetermined price, the price may rise or drop depending on developments in world oil markets.

## Other Countries with 'Net-back' Agreements

Before Algeria, Turkey signed "net-back" agreements with Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union. According to these agreements, Turkey will buy around 5 million metric tons of crude oil from Iraq, 3 million metric tons from Saudi Arabia and 500,000 metric tons from the Soviet Union. If necessary, Turkey will be able to buy additional amounts of crude oil from these countries provided the terms of the agreements are not violated.

Meanwhile, talks are continuing with Iran and Libya on "net-back" agreements. The planned importation of an estimated 8 million metric tons of crude oil from these two countries was suspended following the start of oil price declines on world markets. Iran and Libya, two radical members of OPEC, have described the fall in oil prices on world markets as a Western conspiracy and are not sympathetic to "net-back" agreements.

Observers have noted the problems of these two countries are likely to grow given the fact that no concrete decisions were taken on cutting production at OPEC's most recent meeting in mid-March and the subsequent accelerated decline in oil prices.

ENERGY

TURKEY

## TEK UNABLE TO PAY CONTRACTING FIRMS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 3 Apr 86 p 7

[Report by Zulfikar Dogan]

[Text] Ankara--It has been learned that as a result of cash flow problems TEK [Turkish Electric Power Enterprise Directorate General] is unable to pay contracting firms what it owes them and that a check issued by TEK in the amount of 500 million Turkish liras has been returned unpaid.

The Provinces Bank which has been overseeing the construction of provincial and district power grids on behalf of TEK stopped payments to contracting firms when it did not receive the necessary funds from TEK. The money owed to contracting firms by the Provinces Bank and therefore by TEK now stands at 6 billion Turkish liras.

'If TEK Does not Pay, We Cannot Pay'

Provinces Bank officials stated that in accordance with a change in the law in 1984, all electric power grid network and distribution construction projects were turned over to TEK and that as a result the Energy Department of the Provinces Bank will be incorporated in TEK.

Provinces Bank Deputy Director General Nihat Bas said that while the necessary arrangements are being made, his bank has overseen the construction of 88 projects in 1984 and 93 projects in 1985 and that construction activities are still continuing. He added:

"From now TEK will oversee the contracts and the construction of projects. We handled these contracts on behalf of TEK. TEK must transfer funds to us so that we can pay the contractors. If we do not get any money from them we cannot make any payments. They were supposed to pay us on Tuesday, but they did not. I am hoping that they will pay us on Thursday. Then we can disburse some money to the contractors."

It has been learned that a TEK check in the amount of 500 million Turkish liras sent to the Provinces Bank for disbursement to the contractors was returned unpaid last Friday and that as a result no payments could be made to the contracting firms.

A TEK official said that his organization has been working to deposit the necessary funds in the bank to cover its check and that, however, this had not



been done as of Tuesday. He said: "I believe that we will be able to make up this money by the end of this week the latest. If we transfer the money to the bank, the Provinces Bank can pay the contractors on Thursday or Friday. This problem is not confined to TEK alone. Virtually all government agencies are having difficulties in paying their contractors."

'Is the Government Trying to Sink Us?'

Owners and managers of contracting firms working on the installation electric power grids complained that only 10 percent of their accounts receivable has been paid and that they waited for months even for that.

Expressing their views on the issue, the contractors said that TEK is undergoing unprecedented difficulties. They continued: "There has been a major bottleneck for the last month. The amounts owed to us have assumed enormous proportions. Last week we were told that some payments will be made. But TEK's check was returned unpaid. No funds could be transferred to the bank. As the amount of our accounts receivable grows, payments become even more difficult. Under these conditions we will have to abandon the work. Is the government trying to sink the contractors working for it?"

Meanwhile, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Sudi Turel has sent a memorandum to municipalities asking them to pay their accumulated electricity bills.

In his memorandum, Turel states that those municipalities which pay their unpaid electricity bills for 1985 by 20 July 1986 to the TEK distribution centers from which they buy their electricity will not be charged the late penalty fees that have been added to their bills.

Turel says in his memorandum:

"Municipalities which do not pay their bills by 20 July 1986 or those which do not reach an agreement on a payment schedule will have their power disconnected. Their accounts payable plus the late penalty fees will then be deducted from their accounts receivable from the Provinces Bank, the Treasury and other agencies, and, furthermore, legal measures will be initiated."

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